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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

SOME NOTES ON THE *BUCOLICI GRAECI*.

THE scope of the Loeb Classical Library not admitting of any but the briefest notes, the Editors of the *Classical Review* have kindly allowed me to supplement my edition of the *Bucolici* here. As neither is complete without the other, I ask readers of the *Review* to be good enough to consider book and article side by side.

I. THEOCRITUS I—XI.

I 5 ἐς τὸ καταρρεῖ: the context, despite Bion's imitation, I 55, shows that this is future, as indeed the scholiast took it—μεταφορικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ κατενεχθήσεται. The corresponding participle of the similar verb χέω occurs X 52, οὐ μελεδαίνει | τὸν τὸ πιεῖν ἐγχεῦντα· πάρεστι γὰρ ἀφθονον αὐτῷ (where τὸ is inserted contrary to the usual idiom because the following πάρεστι requires a subject); cf. Theophr. *Char.* 22. 10 μισθοῦσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους παιδίον τὸ συνακολουθήσων.

30 κισσὸς ἐλιχρύσῃ κεκοιμημένος· ἃ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν καρπῷ ἐλιξ εἰλείται ἀγαλλομένα κροκοέντι.

ἃ is the ἐλίχρυσος, ἐλιξ is an adjective, and the Everlasting rejoices in its own yellow fruit—or flower, for they are synonymous in this plant—as Moschus' imitated peacock, *Eur.* 59, rejoices in its own many-hued tail. νάρκισσος is feminine only in Theocr. I 133 and *Anth. Pal. Arp.* 2.238; ὑάκινθος

is masculine XVIII 2 and feminine X 28; ἀγριέλαιος masculine XXV 257, feminine XXV 21, and elsewhere only feminine; ἄχερδος masculine in Theocritus (XXIV 90), and elsewhere only feminine. ἀγάλλομαι nearly always means to be proud of something that is *one's own*. Theocritus uses the flower, II 78, as a comparison for ξανθότης. The old English names of the plant point the same way: Gold Flower, Golden Cassidony, Golden Tufts, Candy (i.e. Cretan) Goldilocks, Golden Flower-Gentle. The twining is of art here, not nature.

51 τὸ παιδίον οὐ πρὶν ἀνησεῖν φατὶ πρὶν ἢ ἀκράτιστον (scholia also ἀκρατισμὸν) ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίξῃ.

The wreckers (Ahrens) and dockers (Hartung) of the breakfast have no parallels to offer; the others force a future meaning from what is practically a past participle. Read the present participle ἀκρατίσδον. For καθίξω with participle cf. Plat. *Ion* 535 E κλαίοντά τινα καθίξω; for ἐπὶ 'with' with verbs of eating or drinking cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 247 E νέκταρ ποτίζειν ἐπ' ἀμβροσίαι; and for the active ἀκρατίζω cf. Suidas' explanation τὸ ἀκρατον πίνω. 'Till he have set him breakfasting' (lit. drinking his breakfast; for the wine, which the fox presumably could not expect to get at, was, as the history of the word shows, the chief feature of the meal; cf. our old-fashioned 'to drink tea')

'with but poor victuals to his drink (viz. nothing).' The participle was early corrupted, or perhaps corrected owing to the sex of the *παῖδιον*, to *ἀκρατιστόν* (adj.), and this was changed by an early wrecker or docker to *ἀκράτιστον* (subst.).

55 I take the following view of the design of the cup. The upper border is described ll. 29-31; it runs *περὶ χεῖλη* in a sort of hanging wreath (*ὑψόθε*). Between it and the lower border (*ἐντοσθεν*) are the three figure-groups. These are separated both by lower extensions of the upper border and by higher extensions of the lower border. The lower border is described ll. 55 and 56. As Ahrens appears to have seen, both *θάγμα* and *τέρας* are the acanthus. Ivy is chosen for the upper border because it will hang downwards, and acanthus for the lower border because it will sprout upwards. The fact that the acanthus *περιπέπταται πανταῖ* makes it unnecessary to round off the whole description with a phrase applicable to the cup as a whole. I prefer, with Ahrens, the scholiast's alternative *αἰολίχον*, but would connect it with the other meaning of *αἰόλος*, 'shifting,' 'writhing,' descriptive of the twisted or wavy effect of the acanthus-border. For the termination *-ίχος* cf. *πυρρίχος* 4. 20, *ὀσσίχος* 4. 55, *Ἀμύντιχος* for *Ἀμύντας* 7. 132, and Hesych. *ὀψίχα*· *ὀψέ Βυζάντιοι*. The handles of the cup are supposed to be placed high, one of them above the middle of one of the figure-groups.

95-113 Wilamowitz' explanation of this passage is so good that I feel compunction in trying to improve upon it. I cannot, however, agree that the references involving Anchises, Adonis, and Diomed are taunts referring to past events. They are rather the three items of Daphnis' threatened vengeance; and the first two—*θηρία πάντα* referring, as Wilamowitz sees, to the boar that slew Adonis, and *μέλισσαι* to the bees that blinded Anchises—are conceived of as about to be done for him after his death by his friends the wild creatures. 'You are said' (l. 105) 'to be fond of running after neatherds' (e.g. Paris called *βοῦτας* in this connexion Eur. *Hec.* 645, *Andr.* 280; Nicand. *fr.* 21); 'go to Anchises

on Ida' (called *βουκόλος* in this connexion Longus 4. 17); 'that's a pleasant place for love-making.' And so with Adonis; both are cases of tragic irony, so to speak, like the references to the blinding of Polyphemus in VI and XI. The Diomed-passage also refers, with tragic irony, to the future (ll. 5. 330); but the injury here is to be inflicted, not upon the Goddess' lovers, but upon herself, and not through the wild creatures, but merely, as we may suppose, through Fate or Nemesis. This explanation, I think, not only lends an added propriety to Theocritus' insistence upon Daphnis' friendship with Nature and the animals, but gives, what has hitherto been wanting, a connexion of thought between ll. 103 and 105. That the connexion is close is shown by the asyndeton, this being idiomatic after a sentence involving the notion 'as follows.' Lastly, this view tallies well with Longolius' translation of the not otherwise extant passage of Plutarch *Q. Nat.* (36) quoted by Ahrens and rightly used by Wilamowitz to restore our text: 'Vnde apud Theocritum iocose (?) Venus ad Anchisen a pastore ablegatur, uti apum aculeis propter adulterium pungatur. "Te confer ad Idam | confer ad Anchisen, ubi quercus atque cypirus | crescit, apum strepit atque domus melliflua bombis."'

II 3, 10, 159 *καταθύσομαι*: so the MSS; the scholia to l. 3 prove, as Cholmeley sees, that the MS reading is right there; but in 10 I would read with other editors *καταδήσομαι*, taking *ἐκ θυῶν καταδήσομαι* as an equivalent of *καταθύσομαι*; in 159, however, keep *τοῖς φίλοις καταθύσομαι*, for the reference to the nature of the spell, which as Simaetha speaks is being completed by Thestylis (cf. 59-62), is quite suitable to the context.

59 *τὰ θρόνα ταῦτα*: 'these herbs' means the ashes of the various objects she has just been burning, the great majority of which are of that nature. She sweeps them from the altar of Hecate into the bowl from which she poured the libation.

71 *κατεύξατο* 'had besought me,' aorist as pluperfect, as often in Theocritus, i.e. not on the spur of the moment, but

beforehand, knowing that a friend of mine was to be in it.

83 *κάλλος ἐτάκετο*: more transitory here than beauty; the idea is rather that of 'looking one's best,' 'being in face.' So Homer makes Athena shed *κάλλος* upon Penelope for a special occasion, *Od.* 18. 192. The loss of what *we* should call beauty begins at l. 88.

103 ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν ὡς ἐνόησα
ἄρτι θύρας ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἀμειβόμενον
ποδὶ κούφωι—
φράξέω μὲν τὸν ἔρωθ' ὅθεν ἔκετο,
πότνα Σελάνα—
πᾶσα μὲν ἐψύχθη κ.τ.λ.

Lang and Calverley translate ἐνόησα 'beheld'; surely it is, as ποδὶ κούφωι shows, 'heard,' 'was aware of.' Lang mistranslates ἄρτι; as Calverley saw, it is 'the moment I . . .'. There is a somewhat similar ἄρτι in Longus 2. 28, *κἀκεῖνη δὲ ἄρτι ἀποβιβήκει καὶ σύριγγος ἦχος ἀκούεται*. Cf. also Plato *Prot.* 316a.

124 τὰδ' ἦς φίλα: 'twould have been sweet (for you)'; cf. Sappho *N.F.*, 3. 12 *ὅσσ' ἄμμες φίλα* [MS probably φίλια against the metre] καὶ κάλ' ἐπάσχομεν.

130 ἔφαν: i.e. when Simaetha's message came.

III 27 καὶ κα μὴ ποθάνω, τό γε μὰν τέον ἄδῃ τέτυκται: there is no need to change μὴ to δὴ; literally it is 'and if I don't perish, at any rate as far as you are concerned (τό γε μὰν τέον) it has been,' i.e. will have been, 'done as you wished'; and the meaning is this: 'if I'm not drowned, it will be through no fault of yours,' or 'you at any rate will have done your best to drown me.' Cf. Plato *Prot.* 338c ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἐμὸν οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει, and *Crito* 45d τὸ σὸν μέρος ὅτι ἂν τύχωσι τοῦτο πράξουσιν. τέον cannot of course be taken closely with ἄδῃ. The perfect here is like the perfect with καὶ δὴ.

29 οὐδὲ τὸ τηλεφίλον ποτεμάξατο τὸ πλατάγημα: 'the love-in-absence did not stick on at the slapping-test'; cf. *ῥηγεῖσθαι τὸν κόρδακα*, *Satyrum saltare*.

30 ἀπαλῶ ποτὶ πάχεος: 'upon the soft of my arm,' a natural place for a sleeveless person to use. For the omission of the article cf. XII 24 ῥινὸς ὑπερθευ ἀραιῆς 'the tip of my nose' not

'my pointed nose,' and ἐς κοιλὴν ναῦν 'into the hold.'

IV My interpretation of this poem rests upon the supposition that Milon is a son of Lampriadas, and had ousted Battus in the affections of the lately dead Amaryllis. Battus' banter, for which Corydon's temporary rise from goatherd to oxherd offers an excuse, is interrupted here and there by bitter references to Milon (ll. 11, 20), and by an apostrophe to Amaryllis (l. 38) whose name has been tactlessly mentioned by Corydon.

In support of the view that this Milon cannot be the great athlete, I may add the following consideration to those given in my introduction to the poem. Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2. 560, evidently knows nothing of the ascription of such feats to the great Milon. His account of him makes no mention of them, and yet in the very next section he gives an account—obviously derived from this passage, for he quotes ll. 33-37—of Αἴγων Κροτωνιάτης. Had he known of any such feat having been ascribed to the great Milon, he would have compared the two great Crotoniates. (The corruption of Μίλων to Αἴγων in l. 34 of Theocritus had already taken place.)

31 ff. This is the only genuine pastoral mime which has been thought to contain no song. I believe it to be no exception. 'I'm something of a musician, and I can play Glaucus' snatches and Pyrrhus' ditties well'; and then, with an asyndeton suggesting 'I'll give you a sample of my musical powers' (not, I think, 'of a song of G. or P.'), comes the song, ll. 32-37. Read Αἰνέω τὰν τε Κρότωνα καλὰν πόλιν ἅτε Ζάκυνθον. τὸ Λακίσιον in the next line is part of Croton not of Zacynthus; Zacynthus therefore cannot be, and Croton in view of καὶ must be, part of the object. ταυτὰ ἅτε = οὕτως ὡς in a Laconian inscription *I.A.* 79; Theocritus uses ταυτὰ XV 18, αἰ II 76, XIII 70, XIV 42, 68, and αἰπερ V 101; αἰ is recorded by Eustathius as a variant for ὡς II. 6. 443. Zacynthus is still proverbial for its beauty, witness the saying ἡ Ζάκυνθος, ἡ Ζάκυνθος, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς Ἀνατολῆς. The MSS read ἅτε and αἰ τε. The rest of the corruption would follow inevitably upon the latter.

49 ff. K. . . . εἶθ' ἥς μοι ροικόν τι (MSS
τὸ, τυ) λαγωβόλον, ὥς τυ
πάταξα.

B. θᾶσαι μ' ὦ Κορύδων ποτιτῶ
Διός· ἃ γὰρ ἄκανθα
ἄρμοι μ' ὦδ' ἐπάταξ' ὑπὸ τὸ
σφυρόν.

If ἐπάταξε is not a corruption of ἐνέπαξε or ἐπέπαξε, there must be some point in the repetition, thus 'Would I had a hurlbat in my hand; I would have had at you.' 'Look here, Corydon; it had at me, this thorn, as you said the word, under my ankle here.' This gives point to ἄρμοι.

V 89 ποππυλιάσδει: she makes a kissing-noise.

109 μή μεν λωβάσσηθε τὰς ἀμπέλος· ἐντὶ γὰρ αὖται (MSS also ἄβαι, ἄβαι and schol. also ἄβαι, αὖται): the last three words give a special reason why the locusts must avoid these vines. The doubtful word must describe either their condition or their species. We have, I think, these alternatives, (1) αὖται, an Aeolic adjective of ἄως, 'early,' 'young,' (2) ἄβαι or ἡβαι, a choice kind of vine. ἄμπελος is one of the explanations of ἡβη in Hesychius.

VI 36 ff. καὶ καλὰ μὲν τὰ γένεια, καλὰ
δέ μοι ἃ μία κῶρα,
ὥς παρ' ἐμὶν κέκριται, κατε-
φαίνετο, τῶν δέ τ' ὀδόντων
λευκότεραν αὐγὰν Παρίας ὑπέ-
φαине λίθοιο.

If this is right there must be contrast between κατεφαίνετο and ὑπέφαине both in the preposition and in the voice. The contrast in the preposition is possible, but not the contrast in the voice; and moreover ὑπέφαине is without a subject, and an impersonal use is out of the question with κατεφαίνετο just before. Read ὑπέφαине personal, and with Meineke λευκότερα αὐγὰ with hiatus, comparing e.g. IV 22, X 30, XI 12. For χαίνω or χάσκω in this context cf. XXV 234 λαμυροὺς δὲ χανῶν ὑπέδειξεν ὀδοντας. The φ was due to the similar word immediately above.

VII 6 The imperfect ἄννε is the usual imperfect which describes an act hereafter to be spoken of either as completed or as interrupted. The same use is seen in the same word in I 93, where the tense quite definitely means

'as I am going on to tell you.' The completion lies here in ὑφαίνων, itself imperfect for a different reason, viz. because it describes a gradual process. Theocritus naturally enough regards not only the spring but its surroundings as due to the blow of Chalcon's knee.

53 This is the only non-epic passage¹ where Theocritus uses ἄν. For χῶταν read χῶκκεν, i.e. καὶ ὅκα κεν, and in the next line ἴσχηι. χῶκκα is unlikely (VIII 68 is not Theocritus), in view of Anth. Pal. 6. 353 ὅκκα beside Theocr. I 87 ὅκκ' ἐσορή and IV 21 ὅκκα θύωντι.

110 δακνόμενος κνάσαιο καὶ ἐν κνίδαισι καθεύδους: Lang mistranslates; it is the nettles that make the scratching necessary. It is ὕστερον πρότερον only to us. Cf. Mosch. Eur. 164 λῦσε δέ οἱ μίτρην καὶ οἱ Λέχος ἔντυον Ὀραι.

142 ξουθαί . . . μέλισσαι: in view of the doubt as to the meaning of this adjective, it should be noted that the context here is of sound not sight. The same is the case with Epig. 4. 11.

VIII 25 M. ἀλλὰ τίς ἄμμε κρινεῖ; τίς
ἐπάκοος ἔσσεται ἀμέων;

Δ. τῆνόν πως ἐνταῦθα τὸν
αἰπόλον ἦν καλέσωμες.

Vergil, Ecl. 3. 50, took ἦν as exclamatory, but that is no reason why we should. Take ἦν, with Fritzsche, as 'if,' and read a comma before it; αἰπόλον, which ought to be nominative, is attracted, as he points out, into the accusative by the coming ἦν καλέσωμες (cf. XII. 14; and Plato Prot. 347b, where Πρωταγόρας μὲν occurs by a similar attraction for Πρωταγόραν μὲν). But I cannot agree that πως ἦν can stand for ἦν πως. πως must belong to the apodosis and be used in a modifying way to imply that the person named is a suggestion rather than a choice.

74 οὐ μὰν οὐδὲ λόγων (MSS also λόγον) ἐκρίθην ἀπο τὸν πικρὸν αὐταί. The poem is probably not Theocritean, but it is by no means poor and late, and ἀπεκρίθη is late in the meaning 'answered.' Take it rather to mean 'parted from'; read λέγων and αὐτάς; and supply λόγον with πικρόν. 'But, all the same, I parted from her without even saying the bitter word,' i.e. 'without retorting, let alone doing anything.'

¹ See below on XI 54 ff.

The omission of *λόγον* is easy, and τὸν shows that it was a regular phrase. Cf. XV 43 τὰν αὐλείαν ἀποκλαίξον, and 95 μή μοι κενεὰν ἀπομάξῃς. *λόγων* originated in *λόγον* (which some MSS still have), a gloss on *πικρὸν*.

86 *μιτύλαν*: cf. Hesychius *μίτυλον*· ἔσχατον, νήπιον Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . ., and *μίτιλον*· ἔσχατον ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸν νεώτατον. These seem to be variant spellings of the same word; cf. *Μυτιλήνη* and *Μιτυλήνη*. A third spelling *μίταλος* is given with the explanation ἔσχατος by Arcadius. These meanings agree if we imagine the word applied to the youngest child of a family. (It may also have been the word for the 'pet-man' or odd pig of a sow's litter, which is always the weakest, but not, I understand, always the latest born.) The five traditional renderings of the scholia are *ἀκέρων*, *νεαράν*, *χρώματος εἶδος*, *ὄνομα*, and *τελευταίαν*. The second and the last agree with this view of Hesychius' renderings. The rendering *ἀκέρων* may be derived directly from the Latin *mutulus*. The other two look like mere guesses. The balance on the whole seems to me to lie on the side of 'youngest and smallest.' The name *Μιτυλήνη* may go back to an earlier meaning 'furthest.'

IX 1 ff. Βουκολιάξω Δάφνι· τὸ δ' ὠιδᾶς
ἀρχεο πρᾶτος,
ὠιδᾶς ἀρχεο πρᾶτος, ἐφεψάσθω
δὲ Μενάλκας,
μόσχωσ βουσὶν ὑφέντες ὑπὸ
(*Vat.* 915 ἐπὶ) στείραισι δὲ
ταύρωσ.
χοὶ μὲν ἀμᾷ βόσκειντο καὶ ἐν
φύλλοισι πλανῶντο
μηδὲν ἀτιμαγελεύντες· ἐμὶν δὲ τὸ
βουκολιάξω
ἐμποθεν, ἄλλωθεν (MSS also
ἄλλοθεν, ἄλλοσθεν) δὲ ποτι-
κρίναιτο Μενάλκας.

The herds are being let out for the day. Line 3 must be corrupt. Cf. the scholion ἡ ὑπὸ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπὶ, ἢ, ἐπὶ στείραισι τοὺς ταύρους ἀφέντες (*sic*), ἢ αὐτὰς ὡς τινες, and read *μόσχωσ βουσὶν ἀφέντες ἐπὶ, στείραισι δὲ ταύρωσ*, 'letting out the calves to run with the cows, and the bulls with the barren heifers.' ὑπὸ was originally a correction of ἀφέντες from IV 4 where the circumstances are different. (Ahrens

quotes Moschop. π. σχ. p. 215 as a *testimonium*, but the reference there, as *μοσχία*, not *μόσχωσ*, shows, is to IV 4). In l. 6 read ἐκ τόθεν 'upon that side' with Cholmeley, and give *ποτικρίναιτο* the meaning 'let M. be judged in competition with you' (*ποτι-*), comparing Plato *Prot.* 327c εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν κρίνεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους οἷς κ.τ.λ. The variants of the MSS and scholia (*ἐμπροσθεν*, *ἐμπροσθεν*, *ἐν ποθ' ἐν*) I regard as emendations due to taking *ἐκτοθεν* as one word 'from outside'; but cf. Ap. Rhod. 2. 533, where however it is used of time and not place.

23 κορύναν τὰν μοι πατὸς ἔτραφεν
ἀγρός
αὐτοφυῆ (τὰν οὐδ' ἂν ἴσως μωμάσατο
τέκτων).

If ἴσως meant 'perhaps' it would surely come before the negative. Read, with Adert, *μιμάσατο*, i.e. *μιμήσατο*, 'an artificer could not have made it so well,' *μιμῆσθαι* in its common sense to 'produce' as a craftsman, not to 'imitate' in our sense.

X 45 read *ἄνδρες*, and note that the wood of the garden-fig, not the wild-fig, was apparently proverbial for worthlessness. The wild-fig was used for the wheels of racing-chariots, cf. XXV. 248.

53 See on I 5.

54 κάλλιον ὦ ποιεμένητα φιλάργυρε τὸν
φακὸν ἔψεν.

Read *καλλίον*. What is wanted is not 'boil our lentils better,' but 'boil us better lentils.' Similarly in XI 44 read *ἀδίον* (MSS *ἄδιον*) ἐν τῶντρῳ παρ' ἐμὶν τὰν νύκτα διαξείς.

XI 22 φοιτῆς δ' αὐθ' οὕτως. In Archilochus, Hipponax, Anacreon, Alcaeus and Sappho there is a word which the MSS give as *δηῦτε*, *δεῦτε* and *δ' αἶτε*. It seems to be used much like *δή*, with questions to mean 'pray' and with the imperative to mean 'do,' and also in statements. (Homer and Tragedy use the form *δεῦτε*, but only with the imperative.) But in Sappho 65, it is more probably 'come hither,' and there are a few other passages where it is not satisfactorily explained as equivalent to *δή*. In Alc. 19 τὸ δεῦτε κύμα (MSS δὲ εὐ γε, τόδ' εὔτε) seems to mean 'the present wave' as opposed to the previous waves, or perhaps 'the hither

wave,' i.e. the wave on this side. In Sappho *N.F.* 1. 15 *ἔτα νῆ κε δαῦτ'* the particle might give the force of 'when return he does (as I hope he will),' but 'hither' gives a far better sense. In Alc. *N.F.* 2. 6. *δηῦτ'* or *δαῦτ'* might conceivably emphasise the previous words, or again 'hither' is better. Probably there were two similar words, one a particle equivalent to *δή*, perhaps contracted for *δὴ αὐτε*, the other an adverb *δαῦτε* or *δεῦτε* meaning 'hither,' akin to or identical with *δεῦτε* the so-called plural of *δεῦρο*. The latter I would read here; *φοιτῆς δαῦθ'* 'you come hither.' None of the ordinary explanations of *δ' αὐτε*, 'and again,' 'next,' 'on the contrary,' will suit this passage; and there are three other possible reminiscences of Sappho in the poem:—*ὑακίνθυνα φύλλα* (26) *fr.* 127, *γλυκύμαλον* (39) *fr.* 93, and *ραδιναὶ κυπάρισσοι* (45) *fr.* 104.

38 *συρίσδεν δ' ὡς οὔτις ἐπίσταμαι ὦδε*
Κυκλώπων
τὶν τὸ φίλον γλυκύμαλον ἄμῃ κη-
μαντὸν αἰείδων.

He could not sing and pipe at the same time. Read *τὶν τε* and *αἰείδω*. Of *τε* there is a trace in the scholion *ὁ δὲ νοῦς· συρίζω δὲ ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν Κυκλώπων ὁμοῦ σε τε, ὦ Γαλάτεια, τὸ χαριέστατον ἔμοι μῆλον, καὶ ἑμαντὸν αἰδων*. Theocritus is not likely to have confused singing and playing. The two are contrasted in I 16 ff.

44 See on X 54.

54 ff. *ὦμοι, ὅτ' οὐκ ἔτεκεν μ' ἡ μήτηρ*
βράγχι' ἔχοντα,
ὡς κατέδυν ποτὶ τὶν καὶ τὰν χέρα
τεὺς ἐφίλησα,
αἱ μὴ τὸ στόμα λῆις, ἔφερον δέ τοι
ἢ κρίνα λευκά
ἢ μάκων' ἀπαλὰν ἐρυθρὰ πλατα-
γώνι' ἔχουσιν.
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θέρεος, τὰ δὲ γίνεται
ἐν χειμῶνι,
ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν τοι ταῦτα φέρειν ἅμα
πάντ' ἐδυνάθην.

60 *νῦν μὰν, ὦ κόριον, νῦν αὐτό γα νεῖν*
γε μαθεῖμαι (MSS also *νεῖν*
μεμαθεῖμαι),
αἶ κά τις σὺν ναὶ πλέων ξένος ὦδ'
ἀφίκεται,
ὡς εἰδῶ τί ποθ' ἀδὺ κατοικεῖν τὸν
βυθὸν ὕμμιν.

There is a double contrast, (1) between diving and swimming, (2) between being born with fins and making the best of having been born without. *νῦν* (60) 'even as it is' is emphasised by position, by *μὰν*, by the vocative, and by doubling; it belongs to contrast No. 2. *νεῖν* belongs to No. 1, and since *νῦν* already has the emphatic position, *νεῖν* can be emphasised only by other means. One way to emphasise an infinitive is—where circumstances allow—to put the article with it, another is to add *γε*; if both ways are employed, *γε* ordinarily comes between the article and the infinitive. Now *αὐτό γα νεῖν* is impossible; it would have to be *αὐτό γα τὸ νεῖν*. We must read therefore, with Ahrens, *αὐτό γα νεῖν*, the particle *αὐ* emphasising the second *νῦν*. If *γα* is right before *νεῖν*, *γε* (or *γα*, for that matter) is wrong after it. Ahrens' *μάσεύμαι*, future of *μανθάνω* (schol. *μαθήσομαι*), is in my opinion inevitable. We have thus a strong connexion by contrast between the sentence ending *ἔχουσιν* and that which begins with *νῦν μὰν*. This is the first objection to ll. 58 and 59; they interrupt this connexion. Secondly, *ἂν* is very suspicious in a non-epic poem of Theocritus. Thirdly, their sense is weak and incongruous. Fourthly, the word-order is very close to what it might well be in the prose of a gloss; e.g. *ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θέρεος, τὰ δὲ χειμῶνος γίνεται, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα φέρειν ἅμα πάντα ἐδυνάθην*. The accident of the first and last words being metrical favoured their reception into the text. Lastly, Theocritus might well have marked the Cyclops' naïveté by making him speak of offering an impossibly composed posy, but as a matter of fact—though the writer of the gloss seems to have thought he did—he doesn't. He says *either κρίνα λευκά or μάκων' ἀπαλὰν*. If the lines are to remain we must read *καὶ . . . καὶ*, or they have no *raison d'être*. It is true, 58 is quoted and 59 paraphrased by Athenaeus i. 5. A. But the interpolation may well have taken place before his time, for the lines are commented on in the scholia. I have little hesitation in rejecting both the lines.

J. M. EDMONDS.

'TO SAVE THE ATHENIAN WALLS FROM RUIN BARE.'

By what stages did the work of Thucydides attain its present shape, if shape it can be said to have? The question is full of interest, and the answer is perhaps within human reach. Most English students will now turn for the evidence to Mr. G. B. Grundy's *Thucydides and the History of his Age*; and the great merits of the body of the book may lend authority to the Appendix, in which this question is discussed. That is my excuse for the following criticisms, which take some points that can be dismissed in the fewest words.

I.

Thucydides says¹ that in the ἐσβολή of 430 the Peloponnesians 'stayed longer than in any other,² and ravaged the whole country; for they spent about forty days on Attic soil.' Mr. Grundy holds, with Ullrich, that this was written before the occupation of Decelea, and never revised. But, as Professor Meyer has pointed out, the holding of a fortress is not an invasion, inroad, ἐσβολή. Mr. Grundy answers³ that 'in point of fact Thucydides himself uses the word, and its kindred verb, of that occupation.'⁴ Not so: he uses them of the invasion during which the fortress was built and manned. The fortress was held about nine years, but the invasion in which it was built and manned may, for aught that we know, have lasted less than forty days.

II.

On the subject of the famous prophecy Thucydides remarks:⁵ 'If another Dorian war should befall after this war, and a dearth should occur in it, I dare say men will word the prophecy to suit.' Since the surrender of Athens in 404 was brought about by famine, there is a presumption that this passage was written at some earlier date; but Mr. Grundy does not

strengthen the presumption by adding,⁶ 'The Dekelean War, too, was another Dorian War.' To Mr. Grundy it may seem so; but in the opinion of Thucydides *another* war is just what it was not.⁷

III.

At the end of the war the Long Walls and the fortifications of the Peiraeus were demolished, but the walls of Athens itself were spared. Lysias and Andocides, to be sure, speak here and there of 'the walls' in a way that might mislead,⁸ but Lysias himself is a witness to the fact.⁹ Even Diodorus leaves us in no doubt, though he mixes error with the truth in his hazy way.¹⁰ That the walls of the city survived, is as certain as anything can be.¹¹

Telling how Athens was surrounded by a wall in the days of Themistocles, Thucydides says:¹² 'It is plain even now¹³ that the building was done in haste; for the bottom¹⁴ consists of stones of all kinds, in some places not wrought together, but just as each chanced to be brought up; and many slabs from tombs, and wrought stones, were put in.' On this Mr. Grundy observes:¹⁵ 'The special reference to the foundations implies, almost with certainty, that he is speaking of the appearance of the walls of Athens after their destruction at the end of the

⁶ P. 458, n. 2; cf. p. 471. So Ullrich.

⁷ See V. 26.

⁸ Lys. XII. 63; And. III. 11, 12, 31, 39.

⁹ XII. 70, XIII. 14.

¹⁰ XIII. 107. 4, συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην, ὥστε τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τοῦ Πειραιῶς περιελύν: that is no more than the truth. XIV. 3. 2, ἐποίησαντο συνθήκας . . . καθ' ἃς ἔδει τὰ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως καθελύν . . . καὶ τὰ μὲν τεῖχη περιελύν . . . : that is false, for τῆς πόλεως, in the context, should mean, or include, Athens itself. XIV. 85. 2 (B.C. 394), Κόνων . . . καταπλεύσας εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τοῖς πολίταις ὑπέσχετο τὸν περίβολον τῆς πόλεως ἀνοικοδομήσειν· τοῦ γὰρ Πειραιῶς τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καθήρητο: only by a forced interpretation can this passage be made consistent with itself and with the facts.

¹¹ See, for example, Xen. *Hell.* II. 4. 24, 27, 41.

¹² I. 93. 2.

¹⁴ θεμέλιοι: cf. III. 68. 3.

¹³ ἔτι καὶ νῦν.

¹⁵ P. 444.

¹ II. 57. 2.

² πλείστον χρόνον. For the present purpose I waive my doubt whether this means more than just 'a very long time.'

³ P. 472. So Ullrich.

⁴ VII. 18, 19.

⁵ II. 54. 3.

whole war, that is, after 404.' But, since the walls of Athens were *not* destroyed in 404, this *almost certain* inference is wrong.¹

IV.

Thucydides proceeds² to relate the completion of the fortifications of the Peiraeus, and says that on the advice of Themistocles the Athenians 'built the wall of the *πάχος*, which is even now³ visible round the Peiraeus; for two waggons opposite to each other brought up the stones.' The words 'even now' imply no more in this place than in the other. The thickness, width, breadth, of the wall must have been at least as obvious while it stood as after it had fallen. The date of the passage does not depend on this sentence alone: but, as far as this sentence goes, it is at least as likely to be earlier as later than 404. Turn now to Mr. Grundy⁴: 'The reference to the walls of the Piraeus later in the same chapter points still more clearly to a period after their destruction. Speaking of the way in which they were built he says that it is still traceable, an expression which would hardly have been used had the walls been intact at the time of writing.' This rests on a mis-translation: the way in which the walls were built is not equivalent to their thickness, width, or breadth.

V.

Not content with robbing Athens of its wall, Mr. Grundy, with Theban relentlessness, carries wrack and ruin over the city itself. 'That Mycenae was a small place,' says Thucydides,⁵ 'is no safe ground for suspecting that the expedition against Troy was not so great as the poets and the tradition aver. For if *Sparta* were evacuated, and the temples and the groundwork of the buildings were left, I think posterity would feel much distrust of its power, after long lapse of time, com-

pared with its reputation; and yet the Spartans occupy two fifths of the Peloponnese, and are leaders of the whole of it, as well as of their many allies outside; but still, since the city was not built continuously, and possessed no costly temples or edifices, but was disposed by villages in the old fashion of Hellas, it would appear inadequate: whereas, if *Athens* were to suffer the same fate, its power would be inferred from the visible appearance of the city to have been twice as great as it is.' Herbst, we read, suggests that Thucydides refers to Athens 'in her desolate state after 404'; to Mr. Grundy,⁶ on the other hand, 'the language employed clearly indicates that at the time at which it was written the writer never contemplated the desolation of the great city'; but both critics alike squeeze into a single year the slow process of ages, the havoc of Romans, Venetians, Turks.

Macaulay contemplated the ruin of London before ever Germany had *Dreadnoughts*. Thucydides may have contemplated the ruin of Athens at any time of his life. What Plataea suffered, what Athens had suffered in the Persian wars, Athens might suffer again. After Aegospotami, if Corinth and Thebes had had their way, Athens would have been blotted out. Possibly it was the imminence of the peril in 404 that prompted the historian's fancy; possibly not.

Sparta was an insignificant town for the lords of Laconia and Messene, still more for the *ἡγεμόνες* of the Peloponnese at large, and of much besides. If the passage about Athens belongs to any date before the disaster at Syracuse, Thucydides says in effect that Macaulay's New-Zealander would infer from the ruins of Athens an empire twice as great as that which Pericles and Cleon left behind them. If, on the other hand, the passage is subsequent to the battle of Aegospotami, it comes to this, that the same observer would infer that Athens had once commanded twice the resources of the Attica of our maps in the interval between the Peloponnesian and Corinthian wars. Which of the

¹ The same mistake is made in Baedeker's *Greece*, p. 21: 'The fortifications of Athens and the Piraeus and also the Long Walls uniting them were demolished.'

² I. 93. 3-5.

⁴ P. 444.

³ *πῦν ἔτι*.

⁵ I. 10.

⁶ P. 421.

two inferences is Thucydides the more likely to have meant? *δύναμιν* does not decide; I have rendered it by 'power,' a word suggestive of dominion, but *δύναμις* implies no more than 'strength' or 'resources,' and when Athens had lost her dominion she still had resources and strength. The reference to Sparta's hegemony, as well as to her territory, suggests at first sight that the Athenian Empire, as well as Attica, is to be taken into account; but against the assumption of a common ratio¹ Thucydides is adducing a disproportion, and the greater the disproportion the more it is to his purpose. Again, the Spartan half of the sentence, if it could be dated, might date the Athenian half; but the date of the Spartan half is itself undetermined in spite of much dispute.

Ἐν Κέρῳ τις ἡμέρα; For my own part I find the first of the two inferences a little absurd, and so, by a different road, I reach the same conclusion as Herbst, that the passage is subsequent to 404. But what I imagine Thucydides to have imagined that a tourist would imagine as he stood amid the imaginary ruins of Athens, is not evidence; so, if anyone differs from me—*πλατεία κέλευθος*.

VI.

Before quitting this subject I should like to propose an emendation of the words in which the fate of Athens is mentioned by Thucydides himself:² *μέχρι οὗ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν*

¹ Viz. between the strength exercised by a city in its prime, and the impressiveness of its ruins.

² V. 26. 1.

Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέλαβον. Thucydides often uses *καταλαμβάνειν* of military occupation, by force or by stealth, by attack or against the danger of attack. The Thebans attempted *καταλαμβάνειν* Plataea in 431; when Syracusan ships *κατέλαβον* Messene in 425, it was on the invitation of the inhabitants, but opposition was feared;³ when Thucydides hurried from Thasos, *ἐβούλετο φθάσαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, πρὶν τι ἐνδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν Ἡϊόνα προκαταλαβόν.*⁴ The word is appropriate to a *coup de main*. But the entry of the Peloponnesians into the Peiraeus and the Long Walls was under terms of peace, and no resistance was to be feared. *παρέλαβον*, 'took over,'⁵ would do, but I propose *κατέβαλον*.⁶ That *κατέβαλον* can govern τὸν Πειραιᾶ, in the sense which Lysias⁷ expresses more fully by *τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ τείχη περιελεῖν* and *τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τείχος περιελεῖν*, appears from the actual decree of the Ephors, recorded by Plutarch,⁸ *καββαλόντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη*, and from Xenophon's phrase⁹ *τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας*.

E. HARRISON.

Trinity College, Cambridge.

³ IV. 1.

⁴ IV. 104. 5.

⁵ Cf. III. 39. 8, 46. 3, 50. 3; IV. 69. 4; V. 52. 1, etc. Plut. *Lys.* 15, *ὁ δ' οὖν Λύσανδρος, ὡς παρέλαβε τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπάσας πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων.*

⁶ It is found in a late MS.

⁷ XII. 70, XIII. 14.

⁸ *Lys.* 14.

⁹ *Hell.* II. 2. 20.

THE CONNECTION OF PAEAN WITH PAEONIA.

AMONG the derivations proposed for the name of the Greek god Paeon, or Paeon, that which connects it with the Northern tribe of *Παίονες* has, I believe, been mentioned only to be rejected.¹ There

are points, however, in the scattered references to Paenian legend and ritual that seem to render it probable that the name of the god is an ethnic adjective (like, for example, Maleatas, the god of healing, whose name appears sometimes as an epithet of Apollo), and that this adjective was applied to the god worshipped as the Healer among the Paenians, whether the Sun, or Apollo,

¹ Gruppe, *Müller's Handbuch*, 5. 3, pp. 1239-40. Cf. Walton, *Cults of Asklepios*, p. 5, who suggests that the name Paenonia is connected with the worship of Asklepios.

or Asklepios, or a 'Pelasgian medicine chief god.'¹

The Paeonian tribe occupied in early time the country afterwards known as Macedon, a name that does not occur in Homer, whereas the Paeonians appear in the catalogue and in books X., XI., XII., XVI., XVII., XXI. They are now regarded on the score of language² as of Illyrian origin, and are usually described as Thracio-Illyrian, or (as Niebuhr,³ and Ridgway⁴ would call them,) Pelasgian. They were a river-folk, and their name appears most often in connection with the Strymon and the Axios.

Herodotus gives an account of primitive Paeonian Lake-Dwellers on Lake Prasias, and Thucydides speaks of their home along the Axios. In the *Iliad* the Paeonians are archers or spearmen under two princes, Pyraechmes and Asteropaeus. The point lately made by more than one scholar that the battles in the *Iliad* are echoes of old tribal victories⁵ that really took place, though not at Troy, is excellently illustrated by the rôle played by the Paeonians. It is significant that the two Paeonian princes are killed by Patroclus and Achilles respectively. In *Iliad* XVI. Pyraechmes is the first victim of Patroclus in the armour of Achilles. In *Iliad* XXI. Achilles chokes up the stream of the Scamander with the bodies of Paeonians whom he has slain, beginning with Asteropaeus, 'And many more Paeonians still would Achilles swift of foot have slain' had not the river-god interposed in wrath. In *Iliad* XVII. a third warrior, next best in battle to Asteropaeus, Apisaon, fights next to Dardanian Aeneas, an old European neighbour. Asteropaeus, who appears in *Iliad* XII. as a companion of Sarpedon in his attack on the wall, and in XXI. in combat with Achilles, has for his grandfather the wide-flowing Axios, and as a great-grandfather appears 'Ἀκισσάμενος, the Healer. Paeonian connection with rivers appears in later accounts.

Polyaenus⁶ tells of the reception by the Paeonians of their young prince Ariston, brought to them by Lysimachus. They gave him the royal lustration of river-water, τὸ βασιλικὸν λούτρον, according to their ancestral rite, and performed other ceremonies to indicate that he was their rightful king.

Concerning the religion of the Paeonians we learn further from Herodotus that their women offer to Artemis the same ἱερὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμῃ, i.e. offerings tied up in wheaten straw, which the Hyperboreans sent from the North to Apollo at Delos. Maximus Tyrius⁷ makes the statement that the Paeonians worship Helios, and that the Paeonian image of Helios is a little disk above a long pole. The form of Sun-worship is similar to the rite used at the Daphnephoria in the worship of Apollo, described by Proclus.⁸

In the passage mentioning the worship of Artemis with the same ἀπαρχαί as those offered to Apollo, Artemis has the title βασιλεία, on which Farnell notes 'queen being probably one of the native titles.' Inscriptions contained in the third volume of the *C. I. L.* coming from Moesia Inferior seem significant in this connection, as Paeonia lies directly below Moesia. Four of them read Dianae Reginae, and two (from Kutlovica) Dianae Reginae et Apolloni. Inscriptions to Apollo and Diana and to *nymphae medicae* appear in Pannonia, a country constantly confused with Paeonia, of which Kretschmar says 'the later identification of Pannonians and Paeonians at least testifies to the close relationship of the two peoples.'

I suggest that the Sun-god who specialised as God of Healing Waters in the North Illyrian and Celtic tribes became associated among the Paeonians chiefly with healing herbs, with which the god Paean is always associated. The god appears but twice in the *Iliad* and in a sense but once. In *Iliad* V. 899, at the command of Zeus, Paieon heals with magical speed the wound of Ares, a Thracian god. Earlier in the same book the same verse is used of Paieon as curing Hades in the account

¹ *Anthropology in the Classics*, p. 92.

² Kretschmar, *Einleitung in die Griechische Sprache*.

³ *Lectures on Ancient Ethnography and Geography*, I. 287.

⁴ *Early Age of Greece*, I. 353.

⁵ *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 156.

⁶ Strat. IV. 12, 13.

⁷ VIII. 8.

⁸ Farnell, *Greek Cults*, 4. 285.

given by Dione of various wounds received by gods from mortals. The passage has a patchy look.¹ Hades does not belong to Heaven and I should regard the healing of Ares as the original passage. With this Paean disappears from the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey* (IV. 231) he is mentioned as the ancestor of *ἰατροί* (with reference to *φάρμακα μητιέοντα*).

The claims of the Paeonians to the honour of naming the physician god are that they were a once powerful and widespread North Greek people, of Thracian-Illyrian (Pelagian?) stock, whose worship of Helios and Artemis (*Βασιλεία*) have points in common with the ritual of the Hyperborean cult of Apollo and the ritual of Apollo Daphnephorus; that this cult of Artemis (*Βασιλεία*) may have some connection with the cult of Diana Regina and Apollo in Moesia, and the cult of Apollo Grannus, as god of healing waters among other Illyrian and Celtic tribes, may also have some connection with Paeonian water-cults or the Paeonian cult of Helios. Further, the Paeonians have an ancestor-hero, Akessamenus, the Healer. They are mentioned especially

for their decoctions and salves (Hecataeus, *ap. Ath.* XI. 447), and their ethnic name is given by Hesychius as synonymous with *ἰατρός*. Their land was on the road by which the rose and many other flowers, including the peony itself, ('nach Griechenland—über Phrygien, Thrakien und Makedonien einwanderte'),² and this whole Northern country was famous for its *φάρμακα*. It produced Chiron, and others wise in simples good and bad.

We have no indications of a definite cult of Paean in Paeonia. Farnell says in making a similar connection between Maleatas and Malea or Maleatis, with no evidence in the case except the name: 'It is true that the historical record preserves no mention of Apollo Maleatas in either of the localities, but we must always be ready to recognise the baffling lacunae in our record, and the possibility that many cult-centres were abandoned which were once famous and able to put forth branches.'

GRACE HARRIET MACURDY.

Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.

¹ Cf. Leaf's note.

² Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustierte*, p. 246.

VIRGIL'S USE OF THE WORD *INGENS*.

VIRGIL'S fondness for this word has often been commented on. As it happens, it does not occur in the *Eclogues*;¹ but in both *Georgics* and *Aeneid* it is a noticeable feature of his diction; and his partiality to it seems rather to have grown than otherwise in his later years. In the *Georgics* it occurs once in every 71 lines; in the *Aeneid*, once in every 58. This gives for the *Aeneid* an average of 14 occurrences per book; and it is rather interesting that there are only two books in which there is wide departure from this average. In Book IV. it occurs only 4 times; in Book VI. as much as 22 times. These figures tend to support the view, probable on other grounds, that Books IV. and VI. are, as regards their main substance, separated

by a considerable interval in date of composition.

Virgil however seems to use *ingens* (as he does several other words) not only to an extent, but in a sense, peculiar to himself. Careful study leads one to believe that he attributed to it, or felt in it subconsciously, an etymology different from that assigned either by ancient or by modern grammarians; and that it thus bore to him, beyond or side by side with its normal meaning, a further latent meaning of which no trace is to be found elsewhere.

The accepted ancient etymology (leaving obviously absurd explanations like that from *in* and *census* out of account) was that of Festus as cited by Paulus Diaconus: *Quia gens populi est magnitudo ingentem per compositionem dicimus quod significat valde magnum—*

¹ Nor in the *Ciris*.

i.e., from *in*, intensive, and *gens*. Modern philologists generally agree in discrediting this explanation, and deriving the word from *in*, negative, and *gens* or *genus*, on the common analogy of words like *iners*, *impubes*, etc. It would thus be closely analogous in sense to *egregius*, the notion in both words being of something 'beyond the common'; and it might also be compared with *immensus* and *immanis*, with which it is coupled by Cicero (see below).

The word is not very common in pre-Augustan prose. It clearly came into currency through poetry, from which it was passed on into prose, (1) seriously, in course of the general tendency towards enriching the prose vocabulary and giving it added colour, and (2) colloquially, through the equally common process by which the bolder or more vivid phrases of poetical diction often pass into popular language, at first with a distinct sense of comic incongruity, and then gradually, when this wears off, as a sort of current slang. Thus in English, 'vast' and 'extreme' were at first part of the heightened vocabulary of poetry, became colloquially used in the seventeenth century (*extremely* is almost an obsession in the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, and *vastly* remained a piece of fashionable slang until a century ago), and have now long been part of the ordinary stock of the language, meaning little if anything beyond 'very great.'

Ingens is a favourite word with Ennius. It was part of the epic diction which he formed, and which in great measure he transmitted to his successors in serious Latin poetry, and to Virgil particularly. In the fragments of the *Annales* we find *ingens cura*, *ingentes oras belli*, *ingenti cursu*, *ingens imago tristiciae*, *specus petris ingentibus tecta*. In all these phrases there is nothing which obviously suggests any meaning beyond 'vast' or 'huge.' In comedy, *ingens* is used colloquially with a flavour of slang: thus Terence, *Ad. IV. vii. 3*, *fero alia ad te ingentia flagitia boni illius adolescentis*, and the famous *Ingentes!* of Gnatho (*Eun. III. i. 2* and *Cic. Amic. 26*), in both of which it is accurately represented by the modern English 'tremendous.' In Ciceronian prose it is beginning to be-

come a word of ordinary usage, with no particular implication either of dignity or of parody, like the modern English 'immense' or 'vast': thus *Cic. Or. III. 70*, *ex ingenti quodam immensoque campo*, 2 *Verr. III. 110*, *ingentem immanemque praedam*, and *Sall. Cat. 10*, *nationes ferae et populi ingentes subacti*; but it is still employed only in somewhat heightened and rhetorical writing. In Lucretius its sense is the same, but it is curious that he uses it very little, notwithstanding that the idea of immensity or vastness pervades the whole poem: it only occurs 14 times in the *De Rerum Natura*, of which 8 are in Book VI., as though he were tending to a freer use of the word towards the end of his life. For the expression of the idea he preferred the word *magnus*, which is a sort of feature of his vocabulary, just as *ingens* is of Virgil's. The difference is very striking if put numerically: in Lucretius I.-V. *ingens* occurs once in every 1021 lines; in the *Aeneid*, once in every 58—*i.e.*, Virgil normally uses it about 18 times as often as Lucretius.

In the *Georgics*, it is always possible to translate *ingens* by 'vast': but sometimes the relevance of the epithet in this sense is not very obvious, and in these instances as in others it seems probable that Virgil felt in the word a further and a different sense, arising from a different implied etymology. This etymology if formally stated would be *ingens* = **ingenens* (intransitive), and the sense suggested by it would be akin to that of *ingenitus*, 'in-growing' or 'up-growing,' as *ingenitus* is 'in-grown' or 'up-grown.' Whether such an etymology be linguistically possible is of course irrelevant to the question of what Virgil thought or felt. To put it otherwise: we shall be in touch with Virgil's mind if we think of *ingens* as containing or implying the sense of 'engendered'—whether self-engendered and thus almost = *innatus*, 'inborn' or native, or accruing by growth and thus almost = *incretus* or *accretus*, 'grown-up' or enlarged by growth. In this latter sense it fluctuates between the ideas conveyed by our two words 'massed' and 'massive,' according as stress is laid on the process through which the largeness is attained, or on the resulting largeness itself. By

the time that it has reached this last meaning, the notion of continuity involved in the participial termination -ns has been practically lost.

We may now attempt to analyse the use of the word in the *Georgics* more closely. The 31 occurrences may be sub-classified thus:

A. 'Massed' or accumulated.

ingentem farris acervum, I. 185.

pluvia ingenti, I. 325.

ingentia rura (*ingens* in antithesis to *exiguus*), II. 412.

ingentem salutantum undam, II. 461.

ingenti motu aquarum, IV. 365.

B. 'Massive' or bulky.

ingenti cylindro, I. 178.

ingentis pondere testae, II. 351.

C. 'Engendered,' sometimes tending to pass into the sense of 'native' or 'natural.'

ingenti vento, I. 334: the choice of phrase no doubt influenced by its internal echo, and by the further echo of *ingeminant* in the previous line.

ingens arcus, I. 380: the bow engendered in the cloud, 'Nature's bow.'

vox per lucos ingens, I. 477: a voice engendered in the groves.

sub ingenti matris umbra, II. 19: under the shade engendered by its mother, under its mother's native shade. The epithet is in antithesis to *parva* in the same line, so that the ordinary sense of *ingens* is in any case well marked.

ingens fraxinus nascitur, II. 65: the native ash.

ingens exiit ramis arbos, II. 80: 'has shot forth into growth of boughs' from the grafting.

ipsa ingens arbos, II. 131: this is a perplexing phrase, and I am not at all clear what it means. 'Huge' is an epithet hardly applicable to a laurel or a tree scarcely distinguishable from a laurel. Perhaps it means 'with massed foliage,' the *πετάλοισι πυκνολοῖσιν* of *Odyssey* XIX. 520. In Horace, 2 *Od.* III. 9, the *pinus ingens* indicates, not the massive trunk (for the trunk of a poplar may be as massive as that of a pine), but the massed (dark) foliage of the pine in contrast to the (loose) pale foliage of the

poplar. Compare also the next three instances cited:

media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram, II. 297: the shade grown round it, or its massed shade;

ingenti ramorum umbra, II. 489: almost = the natural shade of boughs; and

ingentes tendat ramos, III. 333: the (massive) boughs grown from it.

ingenti percussus amore, II. 476: the love that has grown in me; and thus with a fine difference from the *innatus amor*, instinctive and not subject to growth, of IV. 177.

ingens flexibus Mincius, III. 14: M. with his native windings.

vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron, III. 43: the cry of its hauntings or denizens.

ingens porta caeli, III. 260: like *ingens arcus* above, and almost = Nature's sky-gate.

montes per altos ingentem cervum, III. 413: native to, or grown to his full size among, the hills.

ingens oleaster, IV. 20: a natural wild olive, with implied antithesis to the exotic palm with which it is coupled. This economy of epithet (cf. Wickham on Horace, 2 *Od.* III. 19) is a thing always to be borne in mind in reading Virgil.

ingentem tollit de caespite silvam, IV. 273: a thicket grown from a single turf.

D. 'Vast,' without any clear suggestion of further meaning.

ingenti bello, II. 279 (from Ennius).

ingentem caelo sonitum, II. 306; though here there may be some further implication of either 'engendered' or 'accumulated.'

ingentes tollent animos, III. 207; and *ingentes animos*, IV. 83 (*ingens* in antithesis to *angustus*).

ingens Lydia, IV. 210; perhaps with sense of 'swarming.'

specus ingens, IV. 418; possibly with the implication of a natural cave, one 'grown into' the side of the mountain.

ingenti circumdata nocte, IV. 497: cf. the *ingenti umbra tegit* of *Aen.* X. 541, the word possibly in both cases suggesting the darkness of death or of the under-world as a sort of natural force.

As regards the *Aeneid*, it would take too long to cite and classify a complete

list; the word is used 165 times, if I have counted right. It will be sufficient to note the instances in which *ingens* seems to imply or demand the senses A and C above. There are 33 of these; in the remaining four-fifths there seems no need to suppose anything beyond the ordinary or Ennian usage. To prevent any misconception, I should say explicitly that this normal meaning must always be supposed present: the specific Virgilian meaning, if and so far as it exists, being what in music would be called a 'harmonic' to the other.

A. *ingentem pugnam*, II. 438: the battle at its thickest.

ingens aggeritur tumulo tellus, III. 62: earth in a mounded mass.

ingens argentum, I. 640 and III. 466: piled or massed silver.

ingentem acervum, IV. 402 and XI. 207: the accumulated heap.

ingens taedis, IV. 505 and VI. 215: stacked with logs.

ingentes curae, I. 208 and V. 701: accumulated cares.

vagitus ingens, VI. 426: crowded or accumulated wailing.

iussis ingentibus, VII. 241: with accumulated orders.

ingentibus monstris, VII. 376: with accumulation of portents.

C. *ingens gloria*, II. 325 and VI. 64: almost = native or ancestral glory.

dolor ossibus ingens, V. 172: engendered in his bones.

exitus ingens, V. 523: the issue born of (the signs in question).

ingentem arcum, V. 658 and IX. 15: as in *Georg.* I. 380.

exoritur ingens fletus, V. 765: *ingens* carrying on the force of *exoritur*.

flammam ingentem, VI. 519: the engendered flame.

ingentem luctum, VI. 868 and XI. 231: combining perhaps the notions of (1) inward, deep-seated, and (2) widespread, extending over the whole nation.

argumentum ingens, VII. 791: his native or ancestral blason.

ingens coluber, VII. 352: the snake that bred in her.

somnum ingens rumpit pavor, VII. 458: the engendered fear.

ingens Amiterna cohors, VII. 710: almost = the native band. It seems

improbable that Virgil meant only (if at all) either vast in numbers or vast in stature.

faucibus ingentem fumum, VIII. 252: = the smoke engendered in his throat.

aestuat ingens pudor, X. 870 and XII. 666: almost = shame seethes within him.

ingentem gemitum, XI. 37: inbred sigh. The word is chosen no doubt partly for the sake of the echo of sound, as in *Georg.* I. 334.

ingentes agros, XI. 367, and *campi ingentes* XII. 36: almost = our native fields, and our native plains.

As regards the implied sense of 'native,' it is at least suggestive to compare the *indigena bos* sacrificed to Juno at Falerium (Ovid, 3 *Amor.* XIII. 4) with the *ingens sus* sacrificed, also to Juno, of *Aen.* III. 390 and VIII. 43, and also with the *taurum ingentem*, II. 202, of Laocoon's sacrifice to Neptune. In the *ingens silva* of *Aen.* VII. 676, *ingens lucus* of VII. 29, VIII. 342, 597, and *ingentes populos* of VIII. 475, the force of the epithet is perhaps heightened by a similar under-sense; and this also comes out in XII. 708, *ingentes genitos diversis partibus orbis coisse*, where the juxtaposition of the first two words is certainly calculated. So likewise in XII. 225, *genus a proavis ingens*, the *ingens* appears to take up and carry on the notion of *genus* in its specific sense of rank. When used as an epithet of heroes (Aeneas, Sarpedon, Turnus, etc.), it suggests the same sense of noble or high-born, and seems to be felt as a word bearing kinship with *ingenuus*.

Ingens occurs only once in the *Culex* (of the serpent, l. 174, used very awkwardly). In Livy and Ovid, and in post-Augustan Latin, whether prose or poetry, it is freely used, but I have not found any trace of its implying anything more than the *valde magnus* of Festus.

J. W. MACKAIL.

NOTE.

The derivation of *ingens* from a supposed Aorist participle **ingenens*, **ingenentis*, is quite justifiable on phonetic grounds, since the change in the Oblique Cases (which would drag the Nominative after them) would be precisely

parallel to that of *nutricem* from **nūtrī-tricem*, *portorium* from **portitōrium*, and the vulgar Latin *Restūtus* from *restitūtus*. It would further be natural that the abbreviated form should persist as an Adjective (just as *Restūtus* did), although it had died out of use completely in the verbal system. Nor again is there any objection, from the point of view of meaning, in supposing that it is what is sometimes called a portmanteau-word, that is, one into which more than one original meaning has been packed. The case of *numen*, which is the strict equivalent in sound and meaning to the two Greek words *πνεῦμα* and *νέϋμα*, is a precise parallel, and there are few words on whose vagueness Vergil more loves to dwell. Indeed, I have tried to show elsewhere (see Proceedings of the Classical Association, Manchester, 1906) that it is a characteristic feature of Vergil's style to dwell on phrases of double meaning, as, for instance, the *melior uictima* of *Aeneid* XII. 296, with the *melior anima* of *Aeneid* V. 483, with the note of Servius.

Further, it seems to me extremely probable, even apart from Mr. Mackail's suggestion, that the word has a double sense; for it may well be maintained that both the competing etymologies of the word, that from *gens* or *genus* meaning 'unborn,' 'uncreated,' 'ungeschlachtet,' and that from the root of *gnōscō*, English 'uncouth,' which originally meant 'unknown,' 'beyond knowledge,' are in fact wrapped up in Vergil's use of the word, and contributed to the sense of mystery which I have elsewhere (Proceedings of the Classical Association of Scotland, 1910-11, p. 117) tried to show is associated with it.

Both, therefore, on phonetic and still more on poetical grounds I should be

delighted to subscribe to Mr. Mackail's very delicate analysis of the further possibilities of meaning inherent in Vergil's use of the word.

But one difficulty must be pointed out, viz., that the participle **ingenens* ought to mean not 'ingrowing,' 'engendered,' but 'engendering,' that is to say, the use of *gigno* would give it a definitely active signification which is hardly to be traced in any but a very few of the examples that Mr. Mackail has collected. It would perhaps be simpler, therefore, to take the word as a parallel to the Greek word *ἐγγενής*, meaning 'that which has its *gens* in itself,' or 'on the spot,' like *insignis*, 'having a mark in itself'; *incanus*, 'with greyness coming upon one'; *ἐγκύμων*, 'pregnant.' But perhaps it is not necessary to suppose the existence of any definite word, but merely to infer that Vergil connected the Adjective *ingens* with the other Adjective *ingenuos*, to which the *-uos* suffix gives a passive meaning (as in *saluos*, *aruom*).

It seemed worth while to discuss carefully the etymological side of the question; but I subscribe fully to Mr. Mackail's view that an elaborate etymological justification is not really necessary, provided evidence can be brought from Vergil's usage to show that he did connect the word with *gigno*. That is the really important evidence, and that, it can hardly, I think, be denied, Mr. Mackail's list of examples does provide. And I should like to add that their cogency seems to me to be not lessened but increased by the fact that they show this element in the meaning with varying degrees of fulness.

R. S. CONWAY.

Manchester, October, 1912.

NOTES ON STATIUS.

Statius, *Silvae*, I. 2. 136.

Quod nisi me longis placasset Iuno querelis,
Falsus huic pinnas et cornua sumeret aethrae
Rector, in hanc vero cecidisset Iuppiter auro.¹

¹ Cf. *Dirae* 129, 'Tauro Iove digna vel auro.' The same group of legends as here occurs in Ovid, *Amores*, III. 12. 33, and at *Aetna* 87 sqq.

No sane writer calls the same person or thing false and true within the compass of a single couplet. Yet that is precisely what Statius is made by his MSS. to do in this passage. Such a contradiction is altogether pointless, and the epithet *vero* has therefore long been

suspect. Nor can it fairly be argued from other passages that the word has some strange and abnormal meaning.¹ Cf., for instance, Statius, *Thebaid*, IX. 785:

Dum ferus hic vero desaevit pulvere Mavors
Proelia lude domi; id. ib. 852, verumque videbat
Dorcea;

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI. 103, 'Maeonis elusam designat imagine tauri | Europam: verum taurum, freta vera putares.' There is no support here for the view that some mystic or mysterious meaning underlies the Latin; nor will such a theory stand the test of translation; for to render the words 'very gold,' and so pass on the problem to your reader, is, after all, but a subterfuge which will satisfy no one. Accordingly many emendations, none of them, it would seem, at all convincing, have already been proposed,—among others *alio*, *pluvio*, *fulvo*, *udo*, *vivo*, *verso*, *crebro*, *tenero*, *caro* (*Aetna* 90), *iterum*. Markland, who is responsible for no less than four of these—the first four—insists on the necessity of finding a word to tally with the *falsus* of the previous line; and in support of this view he quotes, very pertinently, Ovid's allusion to the legend in *Metamorphoses*, V. 11:

Nec mihi te pinnae, nec falsum versus in aurum
Iuppiter eripiet.

Now it is interesting to observe the Ovidian spirit which Statius brings to the treatment of these legends, and perhaps to note in passing the suggestive light which is thus thrown on his attitude towards the Emperor, the 'Iuppiter Ausonius' of (e.g.) *Silvae*, III. 4. 18. For, as regards his treatment of the Roman Iuppiter, the more you study the passages the less will you be satisfied with the 'fulsome flattery' theory. Either the man was a fanatic, who really believed heart and soul in the 'divinity' of Domitian in a way which we are apt to misunderstand, because we approach the question with twentieth-century minds; or else he was a humorist, who, under cover of an exaggerative style—and exaggeration is the essence of caricature—played the dangerous game of holding

the Emperor up to ridicule. The grandiose tributes had a more than single meaning; they were, and were meant to be, *φωνάεντα συνεπίσιν*. And if he drew his Domitian as, for instance, Meredith draws his 'Egoist' and 'Richmond Roy,' much more would he apply the same treatment to the old discredited gods. He will mete out to Jupiter the same measure that 'the lover of Leda, Alcmena, Semele, Danae, Callisto, Io, Leto, Europa, etc.,' receives from Heine—the Heine of the 'Gods in Exile.' These stories of Jupiter's various disguises may, no doubt, be descended from primitive (possibly Eastern)² studies in natural theology. They may represent discarded theories that the god was a bird or an animal or a metal.³ But in Augustan and post-Augustan literature they belong entirely to the muse of Comedy. No reverence, no 'very gold' is needed here, but some phrase calculated to suggest and to ridicule the wiles and guiles of a crafty lover. It was roguery that achieved the betrayal of Danae—not 'very gold,' but 'roguish gold':

Unda fluens palmis Danaen eludere posset.

And the word that lurks concealed in *vero* should be one that will give proper force to the first line of this extract, and suggest Jupiter's treachery in relation to Juno as well as in relation to Danae. Such a word is *vafer*, which occurs four times (Lemaire) in somewhat similar contexts in the Ovidian poems and in the following stanza of Horace's *Asterie* (*Carmina*, III. 7. 9),

Atqui sollicitae nuntius hospitae
Suspirare Chloen et miseram tuis
Dicens ignibus uri
Temptat mille vafer modis.

This being so, it becomes highly probable that Statius wrote not *vero* but *vafero* here, and that in very early days, while the text was still in 'rustic capitals,'⁴

² See Dr. Macan's *Herodotus*, vol. ii., note *ad fin.*, on the dance of Hippocleides.

³ 'It seems to be true that the oldest Roman religion had no idols. It worshipped natural objects themselves—fountains, fire, stones (Iuppiter Lapis)' (Seeley, *Liby*, Book I., p. 41); but on Iuppiter Lapis see Dr. J. S. Reid in the *J.R.S.* (1912), p. 511.

⁴ The early copies would resemble that of the poem on the *Battle of Actium*, a fragment of which (on papyrus), found at Herculaneum, is discussed by Professor Ellis in *C.R.* xxii. 125.

¹ "vero" soll m. E. andeuten, dass es sich bei Violentilla nicht, wie bei Danae, um eine blosser Fabel aus dem Bereiche der poetischen Fiktionen handeln würde' (Dr. Julius Ziehen, *Wochenschrift für Klass. Phil.*, March 8, 1910).

'vaFro' was mistaken for 'vaEro,' which was either written down as 'vero' there and then, or else transliterated as 'vaero' to become 'vero' or 'vero' at the next time of copying. Read therefore,

Quod nisi me longis placasset Iuno querelis,
Falsus huic pinnae et cornua sumeret aethrae
Rector, in hanc *vafro* cecidisset Iuppiter auro.

This confusion of E and F occurs elsewhere in the *Silvae*,¹ e.g. II. i. 88.

But chronological considerations seem to forbid us to hope for any Statius from Herculaneum, even if the optimism of Dr. Waldstein is justified and the place is 'excavated in our time.' In this connexion it may be worth while to recall the statement of Barth, referred to by Markland in his preface. The extract (which I owe to the kindness of Mr. R. L. Poole) runs as follows: 'Rari autem harum Silvarum Codices scripti. Notus Senensis, ab eodem Scaligero aliis communicatis Variis Lectionibus. Duos nos habuimus emtos, *alterum capitalibus litteris scriptum*, sed uti, nisi perpaucis horis, non licuit, et nunc perisse utrumque arbitror. Ad me sane reversus neuter est, cum tamen domesticis flammis elapsos suspicer. . . . Flammae autem non ab hoste, sed domestico paene scelere, meae tum mansioni iniectae, non hoc solum mihi damnum confecerunt, sed ingens scrinium, manu mea scriptis chartis effertum, simul abstulerunt'.—Publ. Papinii Statii quae exstant (*Cygnae* 1664) Barth, *ad Silv. Animadv.*, p. 9.

¹ I owe the idea to Mr. Housman on II. 6. 93. But his 'restoration' of that passage, 'sed *flesse* iuvat,' can hardly be regarded as final. Is it possible that there we should read rather 'sed et ipse *bibat*' (iuvat = vivat = bibat), with a play upon the normal use of the word in the phrase above, 'Hos bibit usque rogos'?—'But let the master too ('et ipse') drink and forget his trouble.' Cf. 'Luce tuum defles mutata veste maritum, | Et deplorato coniuge nocte bibis,'* and for a modern parallel to the grim pleasantry, Mr. Wm. Watson's lines in *The Great Misgiving*:

Life is a feast, and we have banqueted,—
Shall not the worms as well?

It is not improbable that a somewhat similar play on words underlies a well-known difficulty in Ovid, *Metam.* VI. 582. Philomela in captivity weaves upon the loom the story of her betrayal by Tereus:

Stamina barbarica pendit callida tela
Purpureasque notas filis intexit albis,
Indicium sceleris. . . .

The web is sent to her sister Procne. Then in the MSS. the story proceeds thus:

Evolvit vestes saevi matrona tyranni,
Fortunaque suae *carmen* miserabile legit.

* Epigram of uncertain date in Ellis' *Anecdota Oxon.*, C. S., vol. i., part 5.

'flegisse,' M, 'elegisse' A*, and the adoption of the conjecture which still holds the field at V. 3. 94—'cuRa lyRae' for the 'cyDaliBem' of M—necessarily commits us to an archetype in capitals. So does the admission of 'Trementis' for 'Prementis' (M L)² at II. 7. 96, and of 'Parvague' for 'Toruaque' at II. 6. 40—a neglected conjecture of the *edd. vet.*, which deserves wider recognition.

It is therefore by no means impossible that in some of the other *loci vexati* of the *Silvae* the corruption of the text dates back to transcripts from an exemplar in capitals. Three such passages suggest themselves.

At V. 2. 110 the adoption of 'Premebat' for 'Timebat' (cf. II. 7. 96 mentioned above) would remove a serious stumbling-block. It would be a very slight alteration, and Statius is fond of the word 'premere' in the sense 'to eclipse.' 'Iam premit astra dies,' *Achilleid.* I. 242; cf. *ib.* 606-8; *Silvae*, I. 2. 116, 'quantum Latonia nymphas | Virgo premit, quantumque egomet Nereidas exsto.' The sense here would be that Bolanus was 'the cynosure of all eyes' in court. Even the prisoner at the bar did not outshine him. This seems preferable to the alternative rendering: 'the Fathers were amazed at your endeavour, and even the defendant did you justice'; he did not disparage your skill; a frequent use of 'premere' this, cf. Horace's 'Laudat amatque domi, premit extra limen iniquus,' and Quintilian's 'Qui se supra modum extollit, premere ac despicere creditur, nec tam semaiorem quam minores ceteros facere' (*De Inst. Or.* X. i. 16). The lines will then run,

Stupuere patres temptamina tanta
Conatusque tuos, nec te reus ipse premebat.

Heinsius and Housman would read 'Germanaeque suae'—rather a violent alteration. For 'carmen' one MS. ('unus codex Housman,' Corpus, *Not. crit.*) has 'fatum.' Read 'stamen,' and compare *Tristia*, V. 13. 24, 'Non ita sunt fati stamina nigra mei'; sense—'In a moment she gathered up the clue of her own fate.' Cf., e.g., Propertius, IV. 4. 42, '... patuit lecto stamine torta via. The 'carmen miserabile' of the MSS. represents a scribe's ill-timed recollection of Virgil's *Philomel* (G. IV. 514), 'Flet noctem ramoque sedens miserabile carmen | Integrat.'

² See the transcript of the capitals T and P given by Prof. Ellis from the Herculaneum Papyrus, *C.R. loc. cit.*

At V. 3. 119, where the MSS. give 'poNere,' 'to lay aside,' and the sense demands a word that will mean 'put on' or 'take up,' it would be easier to read 'toLLere,' than to emend with Markland to 'sumere.' But the whole passage is obscure, and the corruption may be more deeply rooted.

II. 3. 29-30 is, as it stands in the texts, one of those strange passages¹ in which Statius comes perilously near to overstepping, if he does not actually overstep, the line which divides the picturesque from the ridiculous. M. Saenger seems to have been the first editor to eliminate from his text the absurdity of the monkey-trick with which Diana is credited in the Vulgate. Some figure of fun in a farce might play for applause by shooting in such a way as to hit the mark with the butt end of the arrow ('cuspidē sagittae retroversa, non ut vulneret sed exsuscitet' (Stephens). But the feat is hardly worthy of Diana in Statius. M. Saenger conjectures—

laevamque soporī
Naidos aversa fertur tetigisse sagitta;

and in this way modifies the absurdity, but at a price. The expression still borders on comedy—'An arrow hostile to repose';—

Put an ounce of lead into each man's head
And prevailed on them to stop.

The one meiosis is surely as ludicrous as the other. The MSS. are at fault. M. reads—

... levamque soporem
Naidos aversa fertur tetigisse sagitta.

Is it not on the whole more probable that the word 'aversa' is itself a corruption of 'aversae,' the final vowel of which might easily have been lost by haplography before the following f ('aversaE fertur')? In the previous line 'soPorem' may represent 'suB aurem,' and 'sagitta' will then be nominative:

... Laeva(m)que sub aure(m)²
Naidos aversae fertur tetigisse sagitta.

¹ Cf. *Thebaid*, VII. 349 f.:

Cephisi glaciale caput, quo suetus anhelam
Ferre sitim Python annemque avertere ponto.

² Cf. alter Apollo (R) for alter ab illo (P), Virgil, *Eclogue*, V. 49, and 'auricilla' (Scaliger) for 'oricilla' in the archetype of the MSS. of Catullus, XXV. 2, q.v. Prof. Ellis. 'Aversae,' it appears, has already been proposed. See the new edition of the Teubner text, *ad loc.* Dr.

Diana approaches from behind, shoots, 'and the arrow touched,' they say, below the nymph's left ear.' Apollo recalls his truant in Virgil, *Eclogue* VI. 3³ with a touch on the ear, the seat of memory according to Pliny, *H. N.* II. 103 (cited by Mr. Page *ad loc.*), 'Est in aure ima memoriae locus, quem tangentes antestamur.' The quasi-intransitive use of 'tango' finds a parallel in the received text of Ovid, *Metam.* II. 302:

Quae (lora) simul ac summo tetigere iacentia tergo.

But in this passage M. Saenger has, at any rate, located the trouble correctly. At line 53 below it is by no means clear that he is right in obelising the word 'veteres'—

Sic ait; illa dei veteres animata calores
Uberibus stagnis obliquo pendula trunco
Incubat, atque umbris scrutatur amantibus undas.

It seems just possible that 'calores' is akin to 'amores' in e.g. Cat., XLV. 1, and that 'incubat' is here used transitively. 'The tree stoops over Pan's lost love.' Otherwise 'animata' can hardly be sound. 'Animata calores' surely cannot = caloribus or in calores animata, as the new Thesaurus would have it.

The whole point of the poem is that the tree is a counterfeit⁴ of Pan. That idea needs to be emphasised here, and an easy remedy would be to read '... illa dei veteres mentita calores,' etc. Cf. e.g. Ovid, *Metam.* XI. 253: 'Nec te decipiat centum mentita figuras'; *Amores* II. 19. 11, 'Capitis mentita dolorem,' feigning a headache. Very similar is *Silvae* IV. 3. 21, 'Atque locuturas mentito corpore ceras | Edidici.' In *Silvae* I. 2. 216. 'Thein' is corrupted to 'thean,' and so here 'mentita,' mistaken for the meaningless 'menata,' may well have been 'corrected' into the familiar 'animata.'

Klotz, it may be added, in his revised App. Crit., includes so much, that it is amazing he should not even mention Scriverius' brilliant restoration of i. 1. 28, nor allude to the interesting matter supplied by Prof. Phillimore on that passage.

³ Cf. also *Copa* 38:

Mors aurem vellens 'Vivite' ait 'venio.'

⁴ Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IX. 1069:

O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
To that false worm, of whomsoever taught
To counterfeit Man's voice.

D. A. SLATER.

REVIEWS

LEAF'S TROY.

Troy: A Study in Homeric Geography.
1 vol. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvi + 406. With maps, plans, and illustrations. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1912. 12s. net.

IN matters Homeric we are, as Professor Murray recently remarked, 'getting on.' The Higher Criticism has been greatly discredited, and some of the best of its 'assured results' have gone to a limbo from which no theories return. Even in Germany the reaction against its methods gathers strength with every year, and Cauer sings the old songs to an audience that has grown listless. A revolt of outraged commonsense coincided with the revelation by the spade of a possible Homeric world. The autopsy of M. Bérard was another stimulant. And now Dr. Leaf does unexpected service to the new movement.

Not that he has abandoned his old attitude. But if he is still inclined to require several poets, he also believes in an original 'real record of real events,' out of which the *Iliad* grew. The heroes may have lived and fought, and the great Quarrel need not be a mere poetic fiction. The capture of the Hellespont was the expansion of Greece 'into the atmosphere of the large human world,' and the abduction of a woman may well have been the spark that caused a conflagration that had long been imminent. The geography of the Troad, as described in the *Iliad*, is found by Dr. Leaf to consist with the facts as far as it is capable of being tested, and no 'atopism' can be established. The Trojan Catalogue reflects (as Mr. Allen has found for the Greek *Διόκοσμος*) 'a state of things which must have existed at the time of the Trojan War, and could not have existed after it, nor long before.' Generally a plurality of poets causes no difficulty to Dr. Leaf, for he founds on a common tradition. 'The Tale of Troy was a corpus from the first.' So there is no place here for (if we understand his words correctly) either *Kleinliedentheorie* or *Kerntheorie*, and still less, as he dis-

tinctly holds, for the speculations of the *Sagenverschiebungen* school (to which Professor Murray inclines an easy ear) that the Tale 'began in earlier inter-tribal struggles, fought out in Greece itself.' All this brings more or less comfort to the once despised believer in the old traditional unitarian view.

The book is still more welcome when we mark the method and results, and compare these with the critical fads, as we may now call them, with which Dr. Leaf, in his edition of the *Iliad*, was in much sympathy. He now sees that there was less scope than he used to think for the operations of the later poets—for 'the invention of incidents, and the introduction of outside material.' The tactical interpolator, the obsequious Neleid to whom we owe Nestor, must surely vanish from Homeric criticism; the old man's advice to Agamemnon is quoted with respect. Suspicions about the Lycians and the Rhodian Tlepolemus may be disregarded for the future. The pre-*Iliad* events which led up to the Quarrel must no longer be the subject of small critical squabbles; they are seen to combine into one harmonious whole, a Great Foray, which was 'a serious military operation' and 'an important element in the strategy of the campaign.' And the object of that campaign, Dr. Leaf argues, was not a siege of Troy, but only an occupation of the coast to open the Hellespont, while its former mistress, by the destruction of the trade on which she rose to power, was 'being slowly bled to death.' Best of all, perhaps, we see, what some have always seen, that Homer's allusions to what he assumes was familiar to all are not to be taken for formal descriptions, and that omissions from these are not to be made occasions for hypercriticism.

In addition to the new theory of the Achæan expedition and the rehabilitation of the geography of the *Iliad*, we have a vade-mecum to Hissarlik, in the shape of a most useful summary of Dörpfeld's monumental but indexless volumes; a new Pelasgian theory with a

'Welsh' parallel, which invites the attention of Professor Myres; and an essay on the crux of the Locrian Maidens. The book is, in fact, 'rammed with' interest, and a very valuable contribution to Homeric study. It is written in a clear and agreeable style, and the minuteness with which individual points are examined and the impartiality with which arguments are balanced are such as to compel the reader's confidence. There are several good maps, one of which enables us to follow the author's journeyings and discussions on sites in the Troad with ease. We note by the way that Dr. Leaf accepts Dörpfeld's Leukas

theory without reserve, and that he appreciates the importance of that tireless excavator's discovery of a genuine 'Homeric cemetery.'

And so the world of Homer grows more real year by year, and one basic difficulty tends to vanish from the Homeric controversy. The *Homer und kein Ende* of the Germans is the cheerless view that many adopt; Dr. Leaf himself speaks of the problem as 'probably indeterminate.' But the word in jest, with which we began, is a true one at present—we are certainly 'getting on.'

A. SHEWAN.

THE RISE OF THE GREEK EPIC.

The Rise of the Greek Epic. By GILBERT MURRAY, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 1 vol. Demy 8vo. Pp. 368. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.

FATHER BROWNE's notice of the first edition of this book (C. R. vol. xxii., 187 ff., September, 1908) adds to high praise a warning that analogies between poetry and the Pentateuch are dangerous. In the present edition the author explains that the Pentateuch is used as illustration rather than as the basis of the argument. The treatment of the *Iliad* as a traditional book is strengthened by a clearer statement of the relation which the author conceives to have existed between the oral and the written tradition (pp. 116-119), by an account of the expurgations for which we have historical evidence, and a list of passages rejected as 'unseemly' by the Alexandrians (pp. 141-2), by the adducing of fresh illustrative analogies (e.g., that of the Koran, p. 122), by a fuller discussion of Homeric armour (pp. 168-180, especially 175-180 on the alleged confusion about the *Thorex*), and above all by a clear exposition of the author's view of the relation between Homer and the so-called 'Cyclic' epics (pp. 199-201 *Cypria*, p. 254 *Heracleia*, and especially appendix H pp. 352-360, a full, not uncritical account of the

views of Wilamowitz). Further, the new chapter XI. (pp. 298-325) gives the reader confidence and a sense that it is now easier to check the more speculative argument. This chapter, proceeding 'from known to unknown,' deals briefly with the Alexandrian recensions, endeavours by a summary of the evidence given by papyri and by ancient quotations to prove the fluidity of the pre-Alexandrian tradition, analyses the evidence of Platonic quotations, and suggests that their closeness to our Vulgate is due to the fact that Plato was in Alexandrian times a received authority for the text; points out that even in the fifth century certain parts of our *Iliad* were probably not established (the Wall-building, the Catalogue, K), and suggests as a test which may lead to further results the fact that Attic tragedians made it a rule to avoid the main incidents of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; states the reasons for supposing that throughout the fifth century the word Homer was more and more strictly applied to the supposed author of these two poems and no others and for connecting this process with the official recitation at the Panathenaea, and touches briefly on the Atticising of the poems and on the tradition that they were transliterated from the old Attic alphabet into the new (pp. 320-321, the evidence set out in a new appendix I.).

In the preface and in notes (especially

pp. 189-190) literature which has appeared since 1907 is briefly discussed. The author shows, I think, a rather dangerous tendency to accept from the theories of other scholars whatever suits his argument, and to reject what is inconvenient. The most notable change in his view is one which ought to lead to considerable modifications of the work, for it is in the direction of supposing that what we regard as greatest in the *Iliad* belongs to the time of Peisistratus or even of Aeschylus (pp. 6-8, 210, 277). Without further explanation readers will find it difficult to suppose that the audience of Aeschylus and Sophocles were the people to clear away from their epic such elements as, for example, hero-worship and human sacrifice. Meanwhile they will probably suppose that the respectability of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as compared with the 'Cyclic' epics is due to the fact that the former were court poetry, the latter popular.

There are still, in fact, many points on which it would be interesting to hear more of the reasons which have led Pro-

fessor Murray to his opinion. We are curious, for instance, to know why Hector and Euphorbus, Trojans who 'were not growing their hair long,' had in fact long hair. The motives of Paris, we are told, are obvious. What were the motives of Hector? And what reason is there for thinking that Nestor, being old, would therefore be absolved from the taboo about women? Homer says that Hecamede was given him not because he was old and feeble but because he was wise, and later adds that he was so strong as to lift with ease a cup which another man could barely move. Why are we to suppose that Hesiod has any reason more delicate than the very practical reason he alleges for preferring a yoke of oxen nine years old? What is the difficulty which makes Professor Murray say that he does not understand *Erga* 559 f.? If Hesiod really called his cow 'Crumple' because he was fond of her, what are we to think of his pet-name for the burglar?

J. T. SHEPPARD.

King's College, Cambridge.

KLOTZ'S *SILVAE* OF STATIUS (SECOND EDITION).¹

THOSE who believe that Textual Criticism is not an art but a disease will note with malicious satisfaction that this is the sixth recension of the *Silvae* that has appeared since 1898. It is to be hoped that in mere fairness to Dr. Klotz they will also note that his present book is a great deal better than his previous one, and that the text which it offers is, taken all in all, perhaps as satisfactory as any other available.

The book is virtually a new work. Not only has the text been recast in a fairly liberal spirit, but the *Apparatus Criticus* has been entirely rewritten, and a second *Praefatio* has been added. The latter part of the old *Praefatio* has also been altered extensively—I note this because, though the changes are considerable, the reader is not warned that

he has before him anything but a reprint of the Preface to the first edition. The *Apparatus Criticus* has been modified in several important respects. It is now critical. The old *Apparatus* was an affront both to scholarship and to good sense. It brushed aside contemptuously the whole of the criticism of five centuries. But Dr. Klotz has now lost much of his irritating dogmatism. He apologises for the old *Apparatus* (p. xc), and he now offers one in which due account is taken of the principal conjectures. The new *Apparatus* is somewhat marred (and its bulk increased incidentally) by an annoying trick of which I have found Dr. Klotz guilty elsewhere. Again and again to conjectures which he cites he appends such hard words as *male*, *perperam*, etc. Now, if these conjectures are really bad, they should not be cited at all. But if Dr. Klotz must cite them, he does no good to himself or Statius by comments

¹ *P. Papini Stati Silvae: Iterum edidit* Alfredus Klotz. Pp. xcvi + 220. Leipzig: Teubner, 1911. M. 2.40.

which are at best a mere statement of his private opinion and which might easily be taken as petulant slaps dealt in rather a mean spirit at rival editors. However, Dr. Klotz's *Apparatus* is now fuller than any other, and at the same time does not much run to waste. No editor of Statius, save a very vain one, has much right to feel himself neglected.

The new *Praefatio* deals with the testimony of Politian. In it Dr. Klotz abandons his old view—which was, indeed, as unpalatable as it could be—that Politian employed a copy of the *Matritensis*.¹ He now believes that Politian had before him the *Matritensis* itself. I believe this view to be the true one, but I hold it upon grounds somewhat different from those of Dr. Klotz: and, as the main defect of Dr. Klotz's *Praefatio* seems to me to be his inability to perceive the cogency of the arguments against this view, I feel tempted to hazard here a suggestion which meets, as I believe, the arguments of both sides.

Politian in 1494 collated the *Silvae* with a MS. which he affirms to have been 'exemplar . . . quod ex Gallia Poggii, Gallica scriptum manu, in Italiam attulerat.'² The majority of scholars have identified this exemplar with our *M*. Others, notably Engelmann and Phillimore, suppose that Politian employed not *M*, not the transcript of Poggio's Constance original, but the Constance original itself. Phillimore has worked out this point of view with great ingenuity. Politian, he argues, cannot have employed *M* since (1) he calls it 'uetustissimus' (1. 3. 86)—an epithet which he could never have applied to a fifteenth-century MS.; (2) he says that his MS. did not contain 1. 4. 86; and that, in it, 5. 5. 24-26 were 'intercisis'—and none of this is true of *M*; (3) he

says that Poggio brought it 'ex Gallia'—'quod profecto,' says Phillimore, 'nullo alio potuit modo scire nisi per ipsius libri subscriptionem';³ and *M* contains no subscriptio of the kind.

These are all very powerful arguments, and they have either been ignored, or treated very shabbily, by the opposite side. Thielscher,⁴ for example, explains Politian's 'uetustissimo codice Poggii' by 'uetustissimum . . . apographum quae tum in Italia habebantur.' This is the merest trifling. All the apographa are more or less contemporary; and if Politian had meant what Thielscher says he meant, why should he say 'Poggii'?

Again, Thielscher holds that Politian, when he said that 1. 4. 86 was wanting in *M*, made a mistake. But he cannot in the whole history of careless collating adduce a single parallel to such a mistake. He himself points⁵ out that the nearest approach to a parallel yet adduced—Scaliger on Manilius 2. 486—is dissimilar. Yet he goes on asking 'cur Politianus errare non debet?' I answer (1) that Politian was too good a scholar not to know the difference between a fifteenth-century MS. and one of saec. v.-ix;⁶ (2) that his collation, if we suppose him to have been collating the original, is elsewhere so remarkably accurate,⁷ that it is incredible that he should at 1. 4. 86 have made a blunder unparalleled in the worst collations ever seen.

But it is just this consideration which is really fatal to Phillimore's point of view. He supposes that both Politian and the scribe of *M* had before them the Constance original. Now *M*, as we have seen, was written by a scribe who, to say no worse of him, was no scholar. Politian was the foremost scholar of his age, with the widest knowledge of MSS. If they both had before them the original Constance MS., how comes it that the collation of the great Politian differs

¹ It is perhaps worth while calling the attention of scholars to the fact that Politian's collation was already known to students of the *Silvae* in the sixteenth century. The book passed through the hands of Ioannes Wouwer, and was the subject of correspondence between that scholar and J. J. Scaliger. See *Scaligeri Epistulae*, 1627, p. 717.

² Phillimore, *Silvae Praef.*, p. x. 'Such expressions as *manu Gallica* . . . when used by Renaissance scholars denote a rough and illiterate script such as that found in *M* 31.'—Clark, *C.R.* xv., p. 166.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

⁴ *De Stati Silvarum Silii Manilii Scripta Memoria*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶ Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, pp. 169-170, shows that 'uetustissimus' is, in Politian's usage, an epithet reserved for MSS. prior to saec. ix.

⁷ 'Few ancient scholars would have quoted with such accuracy.'—Clark, *C.R.* xiii., p. 128.

only in a few letters, and nowhere in any point of importance,¹ from the copy given to us by our 'ignorantissimus omnium uiuentium'? Is it credible that this 'ignorantissimus' should have made a transcript of the archetype agreeing in almost every letter with that made by Politian? It is, of course, wholly incredible.

What, then, of 1. 4. 86 and 5. 5. 24-26?

First let me ask, whence did the scribe of *M* import 1. 4. 86 if it was not in the Constance archetype? Did he compose it as he sat copying 'in Gallia'? Was our 'ignorantissimus' capable of converting the gloss (so Phillimore thinks it) 'attollam cantu,' into a *verse* that scans by repeating the last four words of 85? Such an effort was surely beyond this Latinless copyist. But, if 1. 4. 86 stood in the Poggian original, what of the direct statement to the contrary of Politian? Thielscher's 'Cur Politianus errare non debet?' is idle. There is not merely 1. 4. 86, there is 5. 5. 24-26, and there is the clear statement of Politian that his MS. was 'uetustissimus.' From all this there is no escape by the hypothesis of mere error. We are driven to ask, 'Cur Politianus mentiri non debet?' Politian, in *M*, had come across a really valuable MS. of the *Silvae*. He knew, somehow or other, this MS. was connected with Poggio. He uses it to correct the text of Domitius. And to strengthen the case against Domitius he says that his MS. was the 'uetustissimus' Poggian archetype. To show its 'uetustas' he astutely says that in it 5. 5. 24-26 are 'intercisis,' whereas as a matter of fact the scribe of *M* has simply left spaces for letters which he could not read. At 1. 4. 86 he sees clearly an interpolation: and he boldly confirms his opinion by saying that the line was absent from his MS. For the rest he deals faithfully with *M*, thereby revealing how strong even in much tempted

men is the instinct for sincere scholarship.

Prof. Phillimore believes that Poggio carried with him to Italy the actual Constance original and that this came into the hands of Politian. He may be right about Poggio and yet be wrong about Politian. I say this because, though there is no evidence which directly touches the *Silvae*, yet with regard to another MS. discovered by Poggio at the time of the Council of Constance, there does exist a statement that it was taken to Italy. This MS. is the Asconius original. The statement rests on the authority of P. Pithou, who saw at St. Gall the receipt which Poggio gave for the MS. 'which was taken to Italy.' As I have never seen this statement quoted I give it here:—

'Pithoeana, Amsterdam, 1740, p. 502: J'ai vu le receptisse d'Asconius à Sangal qui fut porté en Italie lorsque l'on retournoit du Concile de Constance.'

This evidence is, I know, not conclusive even for Asconius. But it deserves consideration. And there is no reason why Poggio should not have adopted with the *Silvae* the same procedure as he adopted with Asconius.

I conclude by calling attention to one or two small defects in Klotz's book. The readings of *M* are given in the *Apparatus* without the addition of the symbol *M*. Little space is saved by this, and it sometimes results in serious obscurity. Thus at 5. 5. 53 the *Apparatus Criticus* runs—

durus Politianus: duro; a! durus cum sequentibus coniungit Vollmer.

Klotz means, and should have written

a! durus Politianus: a duro *M*: a! durus cum sequentibus coniungit Vollmer.

F. Morellus is throughout called Morellius. At II. 1. 67 we have 'cf. Skutschius' (a common German trick); yet at p. lxxv 'cf. Skutschium' (which is Latin). On p. 5, note 1, for *litterary* read *literary*.

H. W. GARROD.

Merton College, Oxford.

¹ Save at the two places noticed above. Some of the small discrepancies adduced by Engelmann are shown by Thielscher (pp. 94 seqq.) to be imaginary.

DISPUTATIO CRITICA DE CARMINIBUS HORATII SEX QUAE DICUNTUR ODAE ROMANAE.

Disputatio Critica de Carminibus Horatii Sex Quae dicuntur Odae Romanae. By A. P. H. A. SLIJPEN, S. J. Leyden, 1912.

DR. SLIJPEN'S *Dissertatio Inauguralis*,—in common with Dr. Wagenvoort's thesis to be noticed in the *Classical Review*—owed its suggestion to the authorities of the University of Amsterdam, who proposed as a subject for critical consideration the views expressed by various writers from Mommsen to Corssen as to the meaning and purpose of the first six Odes of the Third Book of the *Odes* of Horace, commonly known as the Roman Odes.

The readers of this lengthy discussion will probably think that the value of its conclusions is hardly commensurate with the very considerable expenditure of time and labour which its preparation implies on the part alike of the writer himself and of the professors who guided his studies. It consists to a large extent of a résumé of the views of previous writers. This indeed was necessary owing to the terms of reference, and it must be said that the statement and criticism of those views are full and seem to satisfy the conditions of the problem proposed. The writer further, as desired, states his own solution of the difficulties at issue.

It is very doubtful whether the system of awarding Degrees on the writing of a thesis is desirable. Even when the subject chosen is one of interest and importance, as in the present instance, the review of the previous state of the inquiry, which is usually considered an essential part of the work, is little more than a barren reploughing of oft-tilled ground, and the endeavour to elaborate some novel theory in order to justify the production of the work is apt to lead to an over-refinement and subtlety of exposition that does not really tend to the advancement of knowledge nor to enhance the credit of classical research. It is to be noted however that in some cases at least Dr. Slijpen is alive to this danger and deprecates the attempt to search out a recondite meaning for

every allusion; as for example on the well-known 'Juno' episode in Ode III. he remarks—'Singulis autem longae orationis partibus tectam subesse significationem nequaquam est probabile,' and in other passages he makes a similar judicious qualification.

Without following Dr. Slijpen through the quagmire of commentary in which Horace lies embedded, and from which it is the essayist's task to disinter him, one may attempt to state briefly some of the conclusions set forth in the *Dissertation*. Dr. Slijpen holds that the six Odes form one cycle, but he differs from those who make the unity of the cycle consist in the panegyrising of Augustus. He rather thinks the unifying principle is the desire to teach Roman youths Roman virtues, and to effect this purpose by celebrating the virtues themselves or by censuring the vices opposed to them. According to this view the address 'virginibus puerisque' in the opening verse of Ode I. is natural enough, and the difficulty, which was a formidable one under the other view, disappears, namely how it came to pass that on the assumption that the praise of Augustus was the subject of the poems so little is said about him. The poems are certainly largely devoted to the commendation and inculcation of special virtues, and the link between these details and Augustus is merely the vague remark that Augustus attained to heaven by the practice of virtue. If on the other hand the object of the poems is to instruct youth, the prominence given to the several virtues is quite in place. It must however be admitted that the glorification of Augustus on his receiving his new title furnishes a more intelligible occasion for the composition of such a series of poems than the somewhat commonplace task of exhorting the young to righteousness.

On the whole the reader will probably feel inclined to follow the advice with which Herodotus concludes his attempted explanation of the rise of the Nile and to say; 'let us leave these things as they are and as they were at first.'

Owing to the limits imposed on him by the subject prescribed, Dr. Slijpen does not formally discuss Dr. Wagenvoort's important tractate, from the conclusions of which he differs materially. It may therefore be of interest to mention some of the points of difference between the two writers. Dr. Wagenvoort thinks that Necessity is the keynote of the Odes, and that the Necessity referred to is that to which Jupiter is subject as well as man. Dr. Slijpen thinks the Necessity referred to is only the human necessity of death. Hence Dr. Slijpen thinks the poet addresses *virgines puerique* as being innocent and open to conviction; but Dr. Wagenvoort, as he assumes the more esoteric meaning to be intended which could hardly be addressed to the young, consequently thinks the expression *virgines puerique* merely represents the Roman people, being a formal mode of address which Horace uses in the character of *Musarum sacerdos*.

Dr. Slijpen deserves commendation for his boldness in not considering it necessary to prove that in every instance Horace did his work in the best possible way and that perfection of thought and expression are to be claimed for every passage he wrote. He is willing to admit that in some cases our poet has not dealt adequately with the task he undertook; for example in Ode I. he proposes to praise the virtue of self-control and begins the poem with dignity and poetic skill. His conclusion, however, Dr.

Slijpen thinks, is tame both from its commonplace character and from the introduction of the personal allusion; though he admits the latter allusion may be justified as an echo of the first verse, where he describes himself as *Musarum sacerdos*.

In Ode II., again, the stress laid on the praise of military valour seems to ignore the circumstance that the poet is addressing *virgines* as well as *pueri*.

Dr. Slijpen draws an interesting distinction between Ode II. which deals with virtues in abstract form and the other Odes which deal with them in the concrete as exhibited in particular men or gods. The following is a conspectus of the terms used:

ABSTRACT

II. *pauperiem pati | pro patria mori | virtus | silentium.*

CONCRETE

I. *viro vir latius | somnus agrestium | vallis Sabina.*

III. *justum et tenacem virum | Pollux et alii | Juno.*

IV. *me fabulosae | vos Caesarem | incontinentis Tityi jecur.*

V. *tonantem Jovem | miles Crassi | mens provida Reguli.*

VI. *donec Romane templa refeceris.*

This symmetrical treatment he thinks furnishes a strong confirmation of his theory mentioned above that the unity of the six Odes consists in their praising Virtue.

C. H. KEENE.

University College, Cork.

STUDIES IN FRONTO AND HIS AGE.

Studies in Fronto and his Age. With an Appendix on African Latinity illustrated by selections from the correspondence of Fronto. By M. DOROTHY BROCK, B.A. 1 vol. Crown 8vo. Pp. xiv + 348. Cambridge: The University Press, 1911. 4s. net.

UNTIL Cardinal Mai's famous discovery of the Ambrosian and Vatican palimpsests in 1815-1823, the fame of Fronto rested on a few references in the pages of his friend and pupil the Emperor

Marcus, and some later writers; for such fragments as were handed down by quotation were not enough to form a basis for criticism. On the appearance of Mai's first edition, the scholastic world was disappointed to find that the high hopes which it had entertained from the discovery of a long-lost author were not realised; for the letters, taken as a whole, were neither a perfect work of art nor the mine of information which had been expected.

The publication of Fronto's works did

not, then, enhance his reputation: the three German scholars who immediately set to work on the emendation of the text expressed a hearty contempt for Fronto as a writer; and unfortunately the *tresviri litteris deprecandis* set the tone for subsequent criticism, and though many diviners have found in the *silva obscura* of the palimpsest-readings a convenient range for the exercise of their conjectural faculty, few have paid much attention to the subject-matter or the style. Miss Brock is to be commended for having gone back to the text; undismayed by the condemnation of earlier scholars she has studied it with great care and insight, and her sympathetic criticism has done much to restore the author's credit.

Her *Studies*, which occupy the first half of the book, deal with Fronto's character and literary achievements, his theory of style, his contemporaries, and the characteristics of his age. The chapter on Marcus Aurelius supplements from the letters what we already know of the Emperor from the *Meditations*. In dealing with the character of Lucius Verus, Miss Brock adduces strong arguments for the opinion that Fronto's more favourable estimate is nearer the truth than the calumnies of Capitolinus. The chapters on the style and thought of the age contain, inevitably, not very much new material; but the writer's careful study of Silver Latin is reinforced by a freshness of judgment, a clearness of insight, and a vigour of style which make the treatment both original and effective.

The chapters on Fronto himself are, naturally, the most important. Miss Brock's efforts are directed mainly to a twofold object: to reconstruct from the letters Fronto's theories of style and oratory, and thence to show that, so far from destroying literary Latin, he actually led the way for a revival. The very excellence of the Ciceronian style had stifled originality; Cicero had reduced Latin prose to a stereotyped form, and mere imitation could make no advance. It was time to break from Classicism, and this Fronto did by the introduction of new elements, borrowing the best from the early writers, and

giving new life to archaism by the effective use of words taken from the popular speech. For Fronto's attempts at history Miss Brock has little praise; history has degenerated into panegyric, and the slight fragments that we possess are of less historical importance than the letters themselves.

Monceaux and others have blamed Fronto for making eloquence synonymous with style, and treating style as more important than matter; Miss Brock vindicates Fronto, first by showing the importance of the part played by rhetoric in the spread of Roman civilisation, secondly by reminding us that he was writing as a professed rhetorician rather than a politician, thirdly by quoting his own expressed opinion, that style must correspond to matter.¹ This combination of external and internal evidence seems to us both admirable and conclusive. Incidentally, it is shown that some critics have read Fronto carelessly or not read him at all, and taken seriously what he himself described as *nugalia*.²

The second part of the book deals with 'Africitas,' and aims at proving that African Latinity was the language of an epoch, not the dialect belonging to a particular locality. Any system of *Sprachstatistik* is apt to be unsatisfactory; but Miss Brock has at least succeeded in showing that many words and phrases which have been called 'Africanisms' occur in writers who were not of the African school, and has gone far to prove, by the evidence both of literature and inscriptions, that this 'Africitas' is really the literary application of the spoken language which was almost universal in the age of the Antonines.

An appendix consists of a selection from the letters, well chosen to illustrate all the points made in the book. It contains the delightful idyll of 'Sleep,' familiar to readers of Walter Pater's *Marius*. The translations are excellent.

J. F. D.

The University, Bristol.

¹ *Studies in Fronto*, p. 103.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 121, 81.

THE TEXT OF THE CORPUS AGRIMENSORUM.

1. *Die Handschriften des Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum.* Von Dr. C. THULIN. Berlin: Reimer, 1911.
2. *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Corpus Agrimensorum.* Von C. THULIN. Göteborg, 1911.
3. *Humanistische Handschriften des Corpus Agrimensorum.* Von C. THULIN. (Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, 1911).

THE Italian methods of land measurement are of immense importance for the history of civilisation in Italy from the earliest period onwards. It was this side of Roman research that first attracted Niebuhr's attention, and thereby started the learned world of Europe on a century of fruitful investigation. Two of the most famous and suggestive books on early Italy that appeared in the latter part of the nineteenth century used the '*limitatio*' as a starting-point, Nissen's *Das Templum*, and Helbig's *Italiker in der Poebene*. But the Roman writers on the subject belong to the Empire, viz. Frontinus, Siculus Flaccus, Hyginus and the rest, and record the methods of highly skilled *agrimensores* of their own time, incidentally throwing light on ancient practice; and in the same collection we have official records of a much later date of the lands belonging to coloniae and other land-surveys. Thus there can hardly be a more important subject for the study of Italian history throughout the Roman period.

Yet it is strange how little attention has been paid for fifty years or more to the texts on which all our knowledge of this vast subject depends. This is simply the result of the excellence of the first real recension of these texts by Lachmann, published in 1848, and of the additional volume of explanatory and critical essays by Mommsen and Rudorff which appeared in 1852. Probably it may also have been in part the result of the absorption of the energies of the best German scholars in the work of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. At any rate until the last few years no labour of importance had been bestowed on the *Corpus Agrimensorum*.

Dr. Thulin has now taken the subject in hand, and it looks as if we should before long have an entirely new textual basis to work upon. He is well qualified for the task; he is well known to scholars by his work on the gods of Martianus Capella and the bronze liver of Piacenza, in the *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*. From the divisions of the heaven in Martianus he must have been drawn by a not unnatural transition to the humble human divisions of the land of Italy, and we may congratulate him on this descent from heaven to earth, and from Etruscan fancy to Roman notions of utility. But his article on *haruspices* in Pauly-Wissowa, an offprint of which has been sent us together with the works mentioned at the head of this notice, a very thoroughgoing discussion of the subject, shows that he has no intention of entirely abandoning the Etruscans and their religion.

It will suffice here to mention the contents of Dr. Thulin's three papers on the *Agrimensores*, taking them in the order given at the head of this article. The first and most important, published under the auspices of the Berlin Academy, discusses the date, history, and relation to each other, and to an archetype, of the chief manuscripts used by Lachmann (Arцерianus A and B, copies of an original by different hands, in the sixth century: and the so-called Palatine MS. of the ninth century, with a copy [G], which, like the two Arцерiani, is in the library at Wolfenbüttel: and two fragmentary MSS. of far less value, F and E, at Florence and Erfurt respectively). To these come to be added copies of these MSS. made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, discussed in Dr. Thulin's article in the *Rheinisches Museum*. Lastly, in his paper published at Göteborg, Dr. Thulin deals with a great number of '*Excerptensammlungen und Kompendien*' made in the tenth and following centuries down to the thirteenth, not for the use of learned persons, but for young people, for schoolboys in fact, who at that period combined '*Gromatic*' with geometry.

The progress made by Dr. Thulin is unquestionable; no one in future can approach the subject without going carefully through his work. We have now the means of testing and correcting the text of Lachmann, not only by a more accurate recension of his principal MSS., but by bringing to bear on it an exam-

ination of a number of later MSS., together with excerpts and epitomes. Dr. Thulin is winning us a new basis of operations for the study of *agrimetatio*, by a series of researches worthy of the best traditions of German scholarship.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

SHORT NOTICES

La langue de Xénophon. Par L. GAUTIER.
Pp. 215. Genève: Georg, 1911. 6 fr.

MR. GAUTIER sets himself both to give all important details of the remarkable vocabulary used by Xenophon and roughly to classify them according to the sources from which they seem to have come. He concurs, of course, in what has been the commonest and is obviously the right view, that most of them were taken not from poetry, but from the non-Attic companions and communities that Xenophon, from his early manhood, mainly lived with and the non-Attic literature which he would read. The purely Doric words are probably not very many, and are most often technical. Those which seem to have been both Doric and Ionic are more numerous: they include such well-known peculiarities as the prepositions *ἀμφί*, *ἀνά*, *σύν* freely used, the conjunction *ἔστε*, and miscellaneous words such as *τέκνον*, *ἐπομαι*, *θυγάτωρ*. Ionisms proper—due not only to Xenophon's few early years in Asia, but to Ionian literary language and its influence on Greece proper—are very numerous, though it is often difficult to keep them quite apart from words that might be due to poetical associations, or to what Mr. Gautier classes, perhaps not quite clearly, as 'Hellenistic.' I say 'not quite clearly' because the sources of Hellenistic Greek are after all only the dialects, and in particular Ionic. Finally a certain limited number of words may be thought to have come pretty straight from Xenophon's acquaintance with the poets. According to Mr. Gautier, he found so many words common to Attic poetry and

non-Attic prose or conversation, that he became apt to borrow words from poetry without the justification of common use in one or more dialects, and it is a mistake to suppose that he cannot have had recourse to such words except for purposes of ornament and emphasis. At the same time Mr. Gautier supposes him to have been a good deal influenced by Gorgias, and traces in him some very distinct artifices of style.

I should certainly express a general concurrence in the conclusions arrived at by the writer, founded, as in some measure they are, on my own analyses of Xenophontean language. I do not know that I could agree with him and Schwartz that all the works were composed by Xenophon in 'a relatively short period of his old age,' but the matter is too large a one to discuss here, nor does he dwell upon it. He agrees with me, except in one respect, as to the genuineness of the *Opera Minora*, the *Resp. Ath.* of course excepted. The one work about which he differs is the *Cyngeticus*, as to the spuriousness of which he thinks Radermacher's articles in the *Rhein. Museum* ought to have convinced me. I read them with care, but not with conviction, though they certainly carry weight. Mr. Gautier blames me gently for 'denying to the Attic vocabulary' certain words of which I discussed the use. I do not know whether I exactly denied them to the Attic vocabulary. What I not only said but showed about them, or about most of them, was that we could make them out not to have been in quite common and familiar use in talking and writing at Athens, and

I have shown this of many of them further in my *Aristophanes and Others*. In this matter there are infinite gradations, and many words of not quite common use can yet not be summarily described as 'non-Attic,' 'poetical,' and so on. So in English we do not quite commonly call a horse a *steed*, or a valley a *vale*; yet one could not say that these were not words for pure English prose. Of some twenty Greek words on which Mr. Gautier questions my judgment, *αὔξω* is the only one which I now incline to think more ordinary than I did before.

The book ends with a useful Xenophontean *lexilogus* of 50 pages, giving most of the noticeable words, and adding some information as to their use outside Xenophon. It should certainly supersede Sauppe's elaborate and yet not very discriminating work.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

PRICKARD, PLUTARCH ON THE FACE IN THE MOON.

Plutarch on the Face in the Moon. By A. O. PRICKARD, Esq., M.A. Demy 8vo. Pp. 80. Diagrams. Stiffboards, linen back. Winchester. The Wykeham Press. 1911. 2s. 6d. net, post-age 4d.

THIS very clear and scholarly rendering of a somewhat difficult and corrupt treatise will be very welcome to students of Plutarch. None of the difficulties are slurred over, and the whole is very readable, the curious myth at the end, where Plutarch (as in the myth at the end of *De sera numinis vindicta*) lets himself be possessed by 'the divine Plato' and rises to eloquence, being effectively rendered.

The only actual error I detect is the accidental omission of a sentence at the end of ch. xv. A little more audacity in dealing with the text and in filling up the numerous lacunae would have been welcome from a scholar of Mr. Prickard's attainments. Such a text, dependent practically on one corrupt and imperfect manuscript (for E and B are nearly identical), often requires drastic treatment. The MS. from which E and B are copied was obviously very corrupt,

but probably had no lacunae or illegible passages, so that Mr. Prickard's suggested restoration of a passage in ch. iv. is not justifiable. The procedure adopted by the scribe of E was doubtless that which he adopted in treatises preserved elsewhere (e.g. the *De defectu oraculorum*). When the text of his original seemed to have no possible meaning, he left a gap, hoping to find a better MS., thus depriving editors of a splendid field for the exercise of their emendatory talent. But much remains to be emended in what he reproduced.

To take an instance, in p. 932 F *ἥλιος δὲ καὶ σελήνη* should obviously be corrected to *ἡ δὲ τῆς σελήνης*. 'The shadow of the Earth moves from East to West, while *that of the Moon* moves from West to East.' Again, p. 939 E for *εἰ δέ* we obviously require *ἐνία δέ*. 'And some, like most Arabian plants, do not even stand dews, what wonder then, etc.' Anyone reading the translation will see that the context requires these alterations, both of which would be considered somewhat violent in a less corrupt text. There are, of course, many other instances where the text wants correction. A good translation, like this, has the merit of bringing them into relief.

W. R. PATON.

HOMER IN DER NEUZEIT.

Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe, Italien, Frankreich, England, Deutschland, von GEORG FINSLER. 1 vol. 9" x 6½". Pp. xiv + 530. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, 1912. M. 12; bound, M. 14.

THIS work deals with a period to which Professor Finsler was unable to devote sufficient space in his *Homer*, published four years ago. He gives us now the history of the influence and treatment of the epics in the five centuries from Dante to Goethe, a brief sketch for the preceding ages of darkness being followed by four sections devoted respectively to Italy, France and Holland, England, and Germany and Switzerland. All information of interest has been collected with great diligence, but the work is much more than a mere compilation.

Special phases of Homeric study during these centuries, such as the frequent discussions of the relative merits of Homer and Vergil, the various appreciations of the *Poetics* and the *Ars Poetica*, the perpetual *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, and the interaction of the schools in the different countries on each other, and even collateral matters such as the Pisistratean Recension and the early exploration of the Troad, are all reviewed with care and clearness. Much had been written about the period in question in special sections in various treatises, but the Homerist will be glad to have it all collected in one conspectus. With such works to refer to as Sengebusch's *Dissertationes* for the earliest period, Tolkiehn's *Homer und die römische Poesie* for Roman times, Professor Finsler's own *Homer* for the nineteenth century, and now this vademecum for the centuries from the fourteenth to the eighteenth, the student can seldom be at a loss on any point connected with the history of the poems.

There appear to be some omissions. The centones, which have one passing reference (p. 150), hardly come within the scope of the volume, but the collection printed by Stephanus in 1578 might have been mentioned. Others are given in Dr. Rendel Harris' book on the subject. We miss Simon Stenius' translation of the fifth *Odyssey* (1599). In the early part of the eighteenth century Reimann's *Ilias post Homerum, hoc est Incunabula omnium Scientiarum ex Homero eruta* (1728), and several other pioneer works in the art of Homeric dissertation are not included, nor in the end of it Sainte-Croix, Schlichthorst, Schott, and some others. Payne Knight—if it be he—has the barest mention on p. 374. The controversy to which the work of Bryant gave rise might have been treated more fully. Morritt replied in his *Vindication of Homer*. The *Burlesque Translation of Homer* (1772) and the explanation of the capture of Troy as the *Magnum Opus*, the discovery of the the Philosopher's Stone, were perhaps considered to belong to the department of *curiosa*.

The book has not only a copious table of contents and three indexes of authors, matters and Homeric passages, but also a bibliographical summary. It is an addition to the library for which all Homeric students will be grateful.

A. S.

The Earliest Cosmogonies. By W. F. WARREN, S.T.D., LL.D. 1 Vol. Pp. 222. 7 diagrams. New York: Eaton and Mains; Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham. Copyright 1909. \$1.50 net.

THIS is a book which all who teach the classics, and any who wish to read with understanding, should buy and study. A cursory glance would suggest that it was the work of a polymath faddist, but the author deals with an important subject and has undoubtedly recovered the truth. 'Recovered' is the proper word, for it is clear that till the time of Milton the ancient conceptions had not been so far forgotten that literary men and scholars did not understand the authors they read. Since then modern conceptions of the universe have, of course rightly, displaced the old as true, but that is no reason that we should misinterpret what Homer, and Plato, and the Hebrew psalmists say. Briefly, the author shows that the ancients conceived the earth as a sphere—not a disk—the known world being in the northern hemisphere, the southern being Hades. Round this sphere were a number of larger enclosing spheres, all with the same axis. The sun, the moon, and the planets moved along a true horizontal plane, but this could only be seen to be horizontal when the observer was more to the north than were the historical homes of men. Odysseus' journey to Hades becomes intelligible when Dr. Warren's rediscovery of Homer's cosmology is utilised, and so with the Babylonian belief that the gods dwelt on a mountain in the north. The reader will find the diagrams useful. An appendix on the Mandala Oblation of the Lamas will be found most impressive.

T. NICKLIN.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Rural Schools of Scotland have had a large share during the past in producing eminent classical scholars. The late Dr. R. A. Neil and Dr. James Adam, Professor John Strachan, of Manchester, and the present head of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Dr. Giles, all owed their early classical training in whole or in part to the Parish School. The recent policy of the Scotch Education Department, whereby all such instruction is confined to Centres, has

created a great deal of dissatisfaction in Scotland, and an Association has been formed with Emeritus Professor Ramsay, late of Glasgow University, as President, to restore, if possible, to the country boy the opportunity of higher instruction of which he has been robbed. Although the movement is not specially in the interests of classical study, its success would greatly extend the area in which Greek and Latin are at present taught in Scotland.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

*** Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Barker (E. P.) *St. Augustine on Catechising the Uninstructed*. Translation. 7½" × 5". Pp. 88. London: Methuen and Co., 1912. Cloth, 1s. 6d. net.

Baur (P. V. C.) *Centaur in Ancient Art. The Archaic Period*. 12" × 9½". Pp. viii + 140. With 38 illustrations in the text and 15 plates. Berlin: K. Curtius, 1912. M. 40.

Belzner (E.) *Homerische Probleme. II. Die Komposition der Odyssee*. 9" × 5¾". Pp. viii + 272. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. M. 8.

Bennett (Florence M.) *Religious Cults associated with the Amazons*. 9½" × 6". Pp. ix + 79. New York: Columbia University Press, 1912. Cloth, \$1.25 net.

Bibliotheca Philologica Classica et Archaeologica. Catalogue No. 50. 10" × 6½". Pp. 548. Leyden: Burgersdijk and Niermans, 1912. Cloth, florins 2.

Buckland (W. W.) *Elementary Principles of the Roman Private Law*. 9" × 5½". Pp. viii + 419. Cambridge: University Press, 1912. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

Cambridge University Calendar (1912-13). 7½" × 4½". Pp. cxx + 1386. Cambridge: Deighton Bell and Co., 1912. Cloth, 9s. net.

Catullus. With Notes and a Translation by C. Stuttaford. 7" × 4½". Pp. xxxii + 286. London: Geo. Bell and Sons, 1912. Cloth, 6s. net.

Cheffaud (P. H.) *George Peele (1558-1596?)*. 9" × 5¼". Pp. 194. Paris: F. Alcan, 1912. Fr. 4.

English Literature and the Classics. Collected by G. S. Gordon. Contributions by Gilbert Murray, J. A. Stewart, G. S. Gordon, J. S. Phillimore, A. C. Clark, H. W. Garrod, S. G. Owen, R. J. E. Tiddy, and A. D. Godley. 9½" × 6". Pp. 252. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. Cloth, 6s.

Eusebiana. Essays on the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, by H. J. Lawlor. 9" × 6". Pp. viii + 308. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.

Gardner (Alice) *The Lascarids of Nicaea*. 7¾" × 5". Pp. xii + 321. Illustrated. London: Methuen and Co., 1912. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Gercke (A.) and *Norden* (E.) *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft. Band II*. 10" × 7". Pp. vii + 442. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. M. 9.

Jones (W. H. S.) *Classics and the Direct Method*. 7¼" × 4¾". Pp. 16. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1912. 6d. net.

Lammert (F.) *Commentationes Philologicae Ienenses*. Vol. IX., Fasc. II. 9" × 6". Pp. 75. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. M. 3.20.

Loeb Classical Library. Cicero: Letters to Atticus, by E. O. Winstedt, Vol. I., pp. vii + 496. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, by R. C. Seaton, pp. xiv + 431. Appian's Roman History, Vol. I., by H. White, pp. xii + 647. The Greek Bucolic Poets, by J. M. Edmonds, pp. xxviii + 527. Sophocles, by F. Storr, pp. xv + 419. 6½" × 4½". London: W. Heinemann, 1912. Cloth, 5s. net each.

- Lowe* (W. D.) *Selections from Cicero* (Oxford Elementary Latin Readers). 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 96. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. Cloth, 1s. 6d. net.
- Marouzeau* (J.) *Revue des Comptes Rendus d'Ouvrages relatifs à l'Antiquité Classique*. 1^{re} Année Comptes Rendus parus en 1910. 10" x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 93. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1911. Fr. 5.
- Monist* (The) A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the Philosophy of Science. Vol. XXII., No. 4. October, 1912. 10" x 8". Pp. 431-638. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. 2s. 6d.
- Philosophies, Ancient and Modern*. 7" x 5". Rationalism, by the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson, pp. iv+82. Pragmatism, by D. L. Murray, pp. x+77. *Religions, Ancient and Modern*: Congregationalism, by B. A. Millard, pp. x+122. Unitarianism, by W. G. Tarrant, pp. xvi+96. London: Constable and Co., 1912. Cloth, 1s. net each.
- Schrijnen* (J.) *Sociale Klassieke Taalkunde*. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 30. Amsterdam: Van Langenhuyzen. 1912.
- Slater* (D. A.) *The Poetry of Catullus*. (A lecture.) 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 30. Manchester: University Press, 1912. 6d. net.
- Studi Graccani*, By G. Cardinal. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Pp. 212. Rome: E. Loescher and Co., 1912. Fr. 7.50.
- Teubner's Texts*. Q. Horatii Flacci Carmina Editio major Iterata et Correcta (F. Vollmer), pp. 404, M. 2.40. Plinius, Epistularum Libri IX., et Liber Panegyricus (R. C. Kukula), xviii+426, M. 3.20. Vitruvii De Architectura, Libri X. (F. Krohn), xii+291, M. 4.60. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912.
- Thomas* (E.) *Studien zur Lateinischen und Griechischen Sprachgeschichte*. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 144. Berlin: Weidmann, 1912. M. 4.
- Varro* (on Farming) Translated, with Introduction, Commentary, and Excursus, by L. Storr-Best. Bohn's Library. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. xxxi+375. London: G. Bell and Sons 1912. Cloth, 5s.
- Virgil*. By T. R. Glover. Second Edition. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvii+343. London: Methuen and Co., 1912. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Xenophon* (Anabasis, Books I.-III.) Seventh edition, by Dr. E. Richter. 8" x 5". Pp. viii+224. With a map and 3 plates. Berlin: Weidmann, 1912. M. 2.40.

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This INDEX is compiled by W. F. R. Shilleto, M.A., sometime Foundation Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.

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